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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was founded in 1918, and has since February of that year been published quarterly. With this number, the REVIEW begins its fourth year. During the preliminary stages of organization, some scholars, but only a few, expressed a fear lest there should be a paucity of material of the proper caliber offered for publication. Happily that fear has been groundless as the first three volumes of the REVIEW have shown, and the constantly increasing interest being taken in the REVIEW by scholars, not only of this continent, but of South America and of Europe, proves that there need be no apprehension of a decline in the character of the material to be published in future numbers. Not only have original and valuable historical articles been offered to the readers of this REVIEW, but a great amount of bibliographical material as well, among which are found compilations, serious articles, notes, and lists—in other words tools for the student and worker in the history of Hispanic America. Historical Documents and various notes and comment on many subjects have also been published.

All this material has been given to its readers for the small price of three dollars per annum, or three dollars and fifty cents to countries where domestic rates of postage do not prevail, and this price has not been increased, notwithstanding that the cost of printing and of paper has gone up over a hundred per

cent since the first number was issued. The fact is that had this REVIEW not received generous aid from a number of interested persons, it could not have existed one single year. Especially has it had the enthusiastic financial support of a citizen of the United States, who has, indeed, almost entirely assumed the financial burden of the publication. In justice to this gentleman, it can not be expected that he should carry this burden indefinitely. The money that has been received from subscriptions has been a very small part in meeting the expenses of the REVIEW.

There are now between two hundred and fifty and three hundred paid subscriptions. Expenses are confined entirely to the printing and publishing, a very small sum (fifty dollars) paid monthly to the managing editor, and in addition to a few incidental expenses for postage stamps, and other necessary material. The cost for printing the first number of the REVIEW (122 pages) was less than five hundred dollars. The printing of the issue for November, 1920, of double the size, cost over one thousand two hundred dollars. Seven hundred copies are printed of each issue.

The Board of Editors hopes that the REVIEW can become self-sustaining. In order that it may become so, it needs a great many more subscriptions than it has at present. The European War is probably largely responsible for the few subscriptions and the restricted circle of those aiding. This opportunity is being taken to urge the readers of this REVIEW, if they believe in it, if they think that it is serving a useful purpose, if they wish to have it continue, and if they wish to have it reach that goal of excellence that is before it, to use their efforts to increase its circulation. Not only are they requested to suggest to their friends the advantages of subscribing for this REVIEW, but it is also suggested that they may find it advisable to delight their friends by presenting them with a subscription.

It is also suggested that some may find it convenient to become life subscribers to the REVIEW by the payment of one hundred dollars. Also those who wish to aid in a more substantial manner can rest assured that their donations will be used properly.

This REVIEW is not in any sense a money-making project. It can pay no money dividends. It was founded to supply a deficiency that existed prior to its foundation, and the Board of Editors believes that it is fulfilling its end. The friends of the REVIEW are requested to put forth their efforts for its continued existence.

At the meeting of the Board of Editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, held at Washington, on December 28, 1920, Dr. Herbert Ingram Priestley, of the University of California, was unanimously elected to succeed Dr. William Spence Robertson, the retiring member of the Board. In the retirement of Dr. Robertson, who, it will be remembered, was one of the first to propose the foundation of this REVIEW, the Board loses an earnest and serious colleague, whose scholarship and counsel have always been given unstintedly. Both will be needed in the future as in the past. In its new member, the Board welcomes a colleague who is known widely for his work in Mexican history, past and present, and who has given to that study a sympathy of approach and treatment that will go far in the tightening of the intellectual bonds between Mexico and the United States.

Announcement is made also of the unanimous election by the Board of Mr. C. K. Jones as Bibliographer of the REVIEW. Mr. Jones is the author and compiler of *Hispanic American Bibliographies* now appearing in this REVIEW, as well as of other articles that have already appeared in its pages. Mr. Jones, as is well known, is on the staff of the Library of Congress, and has built up to its present excellent condition the department of Hispanoamericana of that institution. He is the foremost authority in this country of that branch of Americana, and is, besides, among other things, a deep student of Rodó and his philosophy.

THE BOARD OF EDITORS.

CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE

To ex-President Roosevelt has been attributed the statement that there were two revolutions whose motives he had never been able to fathom—the February Revolution which overthrew the government of Louis-Philippe and the Brazilian Revolution of 1889 which brought to an end the only empire in the new world if we except the shortlived monarchy of Maximilian in Mexico. And in truth the causes of the collapse of the imperial regime in Brazil seem at first sight inexplicable. When on November 15, 1889, the world learned that the venerable Emperor Dom Pedro II. had been deposed and a republic declared the news was received with incredulity coupled with a feeling akin to indignation. Outside of South America at least the feeling was all but universal that the Braganza dynasty had become thoroughly acclimated in Brazil; that it was largely due to the wisdom and statesmanship of her ruler that Brazil had enjoyed a half century of almost unbroken peace, accompanied by a material progress which was the admiration and envy of her South American neighbors. Under the liberal and enlightened rule of her emperor, Brazil, the “crowned democracy of America” had apparently solved the difficult problem of wedding the principles of an hereditary monarchy with the political and personal freedom assumed to exist only in a republic. To depose and banish the kindly and genial old emperor, the “grand-son of Marcus Aurelius” as he was somewhat whimsically called by Victor Hugo; to send into exile the aged ruler whose every thought was directed to the welfare of his country, seemed not only unwise but ungrateful. It is the object of this paper to submit to a brief scrutiny the causes of one of the most striking and momentous political transformations in the history of Hispanic America.

It is a historical commonplace that the causes of the great crises in a nation's history, whether it be a civil or foreign war,

or as in the case of Brazil, a bloodless revolution, are apt to be complex and strike their roots deep into the nation's past. The explanation ordinarily given for the overthrow of the Braganza dynasty, namely the resentment of the army at the alleged ill-treatment it had suffered at the hands of the imperial government, a resentment culminating in a barrack-room conspiracy and a military pronunciamiento of the traditional Spanish American type, is much too simple. If the monarchy tottered and fell at a blow leveled by a few disgruntled regiments garrisoned at Rio de Janeiro, it was because the supports on which the monarchy might be expected to rely were lacking. By 1889, the Brazilian Empire, which to the world at large presented such an imposing front, had in reality become a hollow shell, ready to collapse at the first assault. One by one the foundations on which the stability and persistence of the Empire were based had crumbled.

As a preliminary to our analysis of the causes of the downfall of the Empire stress should be laid on certain peculiar characteristics of the Brazilian monarchy. The history of continental Europe would lead us to believe that if the cause of a monarchy is to become identified with that of the nation certain indispensable conditions must be fulfilled. A monarchy must derive its vitality, and to a certain extent, its sanction, from a national and warlike tradition, a hereditary nobility of which the reigning prince is the chief, a military spirit, incorporated in the prince and finding in him its highest expression, a clergy whose interests are closely identified with those of the crown, and finally a profound conviction in the popular mind of the legitimacy of the privileges and authority claimed by the ruling dynasty. Such a conviction would of course be greatly reënforced by the belief that the sovereign was invested with certain mystical attributes, emanating from the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

In the case of Brazil under Dom Pedro II. these conditions were in considerable part lacking. The Empire possessed a titled aristocracy, to be sure, but it was not hereditary; it enjoyed no political privileges, and the mere possession of a title did not of

itself assure any great social prestige.¹ In other words the titles of the swarm of barons, counts, and viscounts whose sonorous names were supplied by the rivers and other geographical features of the Empire were largely honorific distinctions, bestowed by the emperor as a recognition of public service, or for the establishment of a school, hospital, or insane asylum. They were also used, as in England, by the prime minister to pay political debts or to win over possible political opponents. There was little in common, however, between the nobles of Brazil and the aristocracy of England or the noblesse of France under the ancient regime; nor did the court of Rio de Janeiro reflect the pomp and splendor of St. James or Versailles.

As for the emperor himself he was to all outward seeming the exact antithesis of the crowned heads of the late empires of continental Europe. Of the conventional trappings of royalty, he had few if any. Simple, democratic in his tastes, hating all display and ostentation, accessible to even the humblest of his subjects, caring nothing for military pomp, he might inspire respect and esteem, but seldom veneration or awe. By no stretch of the imagination could this kindly, genial, scholarly ruler be regarded as an exemplar of the divine right of kings.²

Yet it would be idle to deny that during the greater part of the nineteenth century the Empire enjoyed a real popularity and could count on the support of almost every element of the population. Especially was this true in the '50s, '60s, and '70s, when the influence and prestige of Dom Pedro II. were at their height. The army, the great landowners, the professional classes, the clergy,

¹ The Brazilian nobility in 1883 was composed of one duke, 5 counts, 39 viscounts, 268 barons. Widows of the members of the nobility were permitted to keep their titles. Of these noble ladies there were 4 marchionesses, 6 countesses, 7 viscountesses, 41 baronesses. *Almanak administrativo mercantil e industrial do Imperio do Brazil por 1883* (cited by Vicente Quesada, *Mis Memorias diplomaticas, mision ante el gobierno del Bresil*, 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1907, p. 450). Statistics for 1889 are given by Felisbello Freire, *Historia Constitucional do Brasil*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1895) I. 339.

² In Europe and even in Brazil Dom Pedro often declared: "If I were not emperor, I should like to be a school teacher. I know of nothing more noble than to mould the mind of youth, preparing them to be the men of the future." Afonso Celso, *Pourquoi je m'enorgueilliss de mon pays* (Paris, 1912), 247.

were all regarded as pillars of the throne. But as the century began to draw to its close one by one these props fell away; the last agony of the Empire found the logical defenders of the dynasty either apathetic or actively hostile. How is this waning of the star of the monarchy to be reconciled with the real and indisputable benefits which the Empire had brought to Brazil?

This change in popular attitude is to be seen most clearly perhaps in the case of the large landowners. This class, comparatively small in number but great in wealth and influence, had always been regarded as one of the pillars of the monarchy. They formed the nearest approach to a landed aristocracy to be found anywhere in South America outside the Republic of Chile. From the great *fazendeiros*, the coffee kings of São Paulo; from the ranchers of Minas Geraes; from the old families of sugar and cotton planters in Bahia and Pernambuco, had been recruited many of the staunchest supporters of the Empire. It was the irony of fate that the loyalty to the throne of this influential class was converted over night into an indifference or hostility as a direct result of the greatest social and humanitarian reform ever consummated in Brazil. On May 13, 1888, Princess Isabella, acting as regent for Dom Pedro who was then in Europe, signed the bill definitely extinguishing slavery in the Empire. That slavery was destined to disappear; that its existence was a standing reproach to the fair name of Brazil, no one undertook to deny. Unlike slavery in the United States, slavery in Brazil, at least in its latter days, had as an institution no defenders. The cleavage in public opinion came between those who favored gradual emancipation and the champions of immediate liberation. Up until 1888 the former had been in the ascendant. In 1871 the Rio Branco bill was passed which, among other provisions, declared that henceforth all children born of slave mothers should be free. In 1885 freedom was granted to all slaves over 60. But the abolitionists were not satisfied. Led by a phalanx of able and enthusiastic young men, of whom the most noted was Joaquim Nabuco,³ later appointed the first Brazilian ambassador

³ The relation of Nabuco to the whole abolition movement is graphically described in his two works *O Abolicionismo* (London, 1883) and *Minha Formação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1900).

to the United States, they kept up a ceaseless agitation in press and Parliament and prepared the ground for the final act of 1888. Princess Isabella had become an ardent convert to the abolition cause and threw into the scale all the influence of the monarchy.

The most anomalous and unfortunate aspect of the problem was the question of indemnity.⁴ It is probable that the planters would have acquiesced in the situation, even with a certain cheerfulness, had they received some compensation for their slaves. But the abolitionists, who now found themselves in a strategic position, were opposed on principle to any indemnity. This attitude reflected on their part little political acumen or sagacity. The chief wealth of many of the planters was confined to their slaves; to these men emancipation without indemnity seemed to spell financial ruin. Especially was this true in the north where it was hopeless to expect to substitute for slave labor that of European immigrants. But when it became clear that a bill for complete emancipation was certain to be voted by Parliament a curious situation developed. Though the hope of some compensation had in the past been held out to the planters, at the present juncture no one apparently dared to incur the charge or even the odium of pronouncing the word indemnity; this despite the excellent precedent established by England and France in the case of their slaveholding colonies in the Antilles and the Guianas. Even the Brazilian slaveowners themselves, with a delicacy little short of quixotic, seemed loath to mention the fatal word. They feared apparently that they would be accused of placing their opposition on too sordid a basis. The prime-minister, João Alfredo, seemed to have been laboring under the same generous obsession. He made the mistake of assuming that emancipation had become such a national ideal or aspiration that it would be unseemly to tarnish it with financial considerations.

It is true that Princess Isabella had received intimations that abolition, immediate and without compensation, might be fraught

⁴ The act of May 13 liberated 720,000 slaves (census of 1887) whose value was estimated at some 485,225 contos (something over two hundred million dollars). Duque-Estrada, *A Abolição (Esboço histórico)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1918), p. 261.

with grave consequences for the Braganza dynasty. Yet some of the most experienced of Isabella's advisors deprecated any such peril. Dantas, the ex-prime minister in reply to Senator Coteigipe who was opposing the act as being too drastic declared: "It were better only to wear the crown a few hours and enjoy the immense happiness of being a fellowworker with a whole people in such a law as this, than to wear the same crown year upon year on the condition of keeping up the accursed institution of slavery. No, there is no danger. From my experience and on my political responsibility I declare from my seat in this house that today we have a new country, that this law is a new constitution."⁵

The popular rejoicings which followed the passage of the emancipation bill awoke few echoes among the great landowners. Following a natural reaction, this influential class ceased to regard its interests as identified with those of the monarchy. While little if any overt opposition was manifest there were evidences of a strong undercurrent of revulsion, to those who could look beneath the surface. It is significant for instance that within a month after the passage of the act of May 13 a number of the larger municipalities of the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Geraes addressed themselves directly to Parliament demanding not only indemnities for the loss of the former slaves, but what was more ominous, the calling of a constituent assembly to discuss the whole problem of the future government of Brazil.⁶ Small wonder therefore that many of the planters joined the ranks of the Republicans or at least looked with complacency or open approval upon their anti-dynastic propaganda. The number of converts to the republican cause was especially strong in the provinces of Rio de Janeiro where the saying was current that since the blacks had been freed it was time the whites should be emancipated likewise.⁷

⁵ Quoted in *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (London), ser. 4, VIII. (July-Aug. 1888), p. 125.

⁶ Affonso Celso, *Oito annos do parlamento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1901), p. 265.

⁷ There are not lacking Brazilian writers who claim that the abolition of slavery had no influence whatever on the collapse of the monarchy. Such a one is Sr. Osorio Duque-Estrada, whose excellent monograph entitled "*A Abolição*

The defection of the great landowners and those financially interested in the maintenance of slavery had been preceded by the loss of another element in the population to which the monarchy should logically have looked for support. Through a chain of mistakes and errors which should never have arisen the Empire had aroused the hostility of the clergy even as it had that of the former slaveowners.

The limits of this article naturally preclude any detailed account of the relations of the church and state under the Braganza dynasty.⁸ It may merely be noted that, when Brazil separated from Portugal, the new Empire continued to exercise the jealous and petty supervision over the church that had characterized the Portuguese government since the dignities and prerogatives of the great military orders had been attached to the crown in 1551. This tendency towards an exaggerated regalism was of course accentuated during the despotic rule of Pombal. Of the various prerogatives bequeathed by the mother country to her trans-Atlantic offspring, the most important was perhaps the *patronato*, or right of patronage, a right tolerated, but never recognized by the Holy See.⁹ As the nineteenth century wore on the supervision of the state over the church became more minute and vexatious; every important act of the ecclesiastical authorities was subject to inspection and revision.

For a full half century after Brazilian independence this system had evoked no serious opposition from the clergy. The clerical question, in the sense it is understood in Catholic Europe or in such South American countries as Chile had never arisen in Brazil. From the first the Empire had recruited many of its staunchest supporters from the ranks of the clergy. The most striking instance was of course Padre Diogo Feijó who acted as

(*Esboço histórico*) was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1918. (cf. p. 306 ff.) Yet the consensus of most authorities runs quite to the contrary.

⁸ This subject is treated at length from the Catholic point of view in an able article by Padre Julio Maria entitled "A Religião," published in *O Livro do Centenario* (Rio de Janeiro, 1901), pp. 60 ff. An objective and scholarly discussion is given by Joaquim Nabuco, *Um Estadística do Imperio*, Nabuco de Araujo; *sua Vida, suas Opiniões, su Epoca*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1897), III. *passim*.

⁹ Cf. J. Burnichon, S.J., *Le Brésil d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1910), p. 180.

regent of the Empire during the troublous years 1835-1837. The clergy had full liberty to enter politics and there were repeatedly to be found a number of able and patriotic priests in the Imperial Parliament. If, as has been frequently alleged,¹⁰ the tutelage of the state was but a veiled form of slavery the clergy had willingly acquiesced in this servitude.

In 1873 a change came. The cordial relations hitherto existing between the Empire and the Church were suddenly interrupted by a quarrel of extreme bitterness. The contest which has sometimes, though with scant justification, been styled the Brazilian *Kulturkampf*, was in part but a repercussion of those ultramontane tendencies which during the preceding decade had made such headway in Catholic Europe, particularly in France. As was to be expected the movement was signaled in Brazil by a revival of certain Catholic practices and teachings which had gradually fallen into abeyance.

The relation of the Church to the Masonic Order was the storm-center about which the conflict revolved. It should be kept clearly in mind that the masonic lodges in Brazil had up to this time evinced no antagonism to the Church. Representatives of the clergy were frequently counted among their members. Moreover the lodges had entrenched themselves solidly in public esteem through the conspicuous service many of their members had rendered in public life. A number of the protagonists of Independence had been masons. Dom Pedro himself was a mason; the prime minister, the Baron of Rio Branco was a Grand-Master of the Orient. In many communities the lodge had become a common stamping-ground for monarchists, republicans, Catholics, and free-thinkers.

An institution enjoying wide popularity at this time in Brazil was a kind of religious and benevolent association known as the *irmandade* or brotherhood. Though the members of this organization were almost exclusively laymen it was conducted to a large extent under church auspices and was supposed to be amenable to church discipline. Up until 1873 masons had been freely admitted to membership; their presence in the brotherhoods had

¹⁰ By Padre Julio Maria, for instance (*Livro do Centenario*, I. 69).

not only occasioned no scandal but was regarded as proper and fitting. It was not unusual to find influential Catholics members of both the masonic orders and the *irmandades*.

On which side rests the responsibility for the interruption of these harmonious relations is still a matter of controversy. Certain it is, however, that to the exalted, ultramontane elements among the Brazilian clergy such a situation was regarded as scandalous. The opposition to the masons was led by the Bishop of Olinda, Mgr. Vital de Oliveira, a young, hot-headed¹¹ prelate, who had been educated in Rome and had been swept into the current of Catholic reaction associated with Pius IX. In December, 1872, Dom Vital, as he was generally called, ordered the *irmandades* of Pernambuco to expel from their organizations all members who were masons unless they should withdraw from this order, "which had repeatedly been the object of condemnation by the Church."

In issuing this command Dom Vital ran directly counter to the laws of the Empire, as the order condemning masonry had been promulgated without the sanction of the government. The *irmandades*, moreover were not only religious but also civil corporations and in the latter capacity did not come under the authority of the Church. The bishop none the less persisted in his course and when the *irmandades* refused to expel the masons their chapels and churches were placed under an interdict.

The *irmandades* in their distress appealed to the imperial government, which in turn laid the matter before the Council of State. In a famous *paracer* or decision, signed by the distinguished Minister of Justice, Nabuco de Araujo, this body declared that the bishop had exceeded his authority in demanding the expulsion of the masons from the *irmandades*.¹² In pursuance of this decision the government ordered the bishop to withdraw within a month the sentence of interdiction. Dom Vital not only refused to obey this injunction but enjoined refusal on his vicars

¹¹ The epithet was applied by Pius IX. "Que volete? É uma testa calda," His Holiness stated to the Brazilian Ambassador Baron Penedo. Penedo, *Missão Especial a Roma* (London, 1881), p. 19.

¹² Joaquim Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Imperio*, III. 375.

under threat of suspension *ex informata conscientia*. He publicly declared that he refused to abide by the constitution as he recognized no higher authority than that of the Church. The remaining members of the Brazilian episcopate, with the exception of Dom Antonio de Macedo Costa, Bishop of Pará, took no active part in the controversy. Dom Antonio, however, late in 1873, endeavored to subject the *irmandades* of Pará to the same discipline as had been applied by Dom Vital in Pernambuco.

The imperial government took vigorous action to bring to an end a controversy which was filling northern Brazil with dissension and threatening to envenom the relations between the Empire and the Church. It determined to attack the Bishop of Olinda in the most vulnerable point of his defense. In the early autumn of 1873, it sent a special mission to Rome under Baron Penedo to secure an official disapproval of his acts. Penedo carried out his instructions with tact and success. Pius IX., through the Secretary of State, Antonelli, wrote a famous letter to the Bishop of Olinda, formally disapproving his conduct and containing, according to Penedo, the phrase *gesta tua non laudantur*.¹³ The refractory bishop was ordered to restore the broth-

¹³ This phrase was the occasion of a violent controversy which for years raged about the so-called "Olinda affair". Penedo explicitly states (*Missão especial a Roma*, London, 1881, p. 26) that Antonelli read him the phrase from the letter of disapproval, dated December 18, 1873, and addressed to Dom Vital. On the order of the Pope, however, this letter was destroyed and its very existence was denied. But on the occasion of the amnesty of the bishops, Antonelli sent a copy of the famous document to Brazil. It was not published until 1886 when the Bishop of Pará made a violent attack on Penedo in a work entitled *A Questão Religiosa perante a Santa Se* (Maranhão, 1886). The letter, in Latin, appears on pp. 63-65; the famous phrase beginning *gesta tua* does not appear. Penedo in the following year replied (*O Bispo da Para e a Missão a Roma*, Lisboa, 1887). He denied that the letter appearing in the Bishop of Pará's book was the one read to him by Antonelli, largely owing to the absence of the phrase *gesta tua*. The Bishop of Pará returned to the charge in his work *O Barão do Penedo e a sua Missão a Roma* (Rio de Janeiro, 1888). The truth seems to be that the letter published by the Bishop of Pará in 1886 was a faithful copy of the original letter minus the phrase *gesta tua*. The mystery has never been satisfactorily cleared up. In the course of a series of lectures delivered at Harvard in 1916 the well-known Brazilian historian Dr. Oliveira Lima hazarded the conjecture that we are to see here a wile of the astute Cardinal Antonelli: the famous passage was inserted for Penedo's consumption but was omitted when the letter was sent to

erhoods to their former state and to reestablish peace in the Church.

It would have been well for the prestige of the monarchy had the government been content to let this diplomatic triumph close the incident. But in spite of the success of the Penedo mission the government determined to prosecute not only the Bishop of Olinda, but also the Bishop of Pará, who as we have seen had entered the lists in defense of his colleague. Both men were tried and convicted by the Supreme Court at Rio and sentenced to four years of hard labor; Dom Pedro commuted the hard labor and after two years granted pardon to both of the bishops.

It is beyond cavil that the religious controversy of the seventies seriously impaired the prestige of the Empire. The prosecution of the bishops and their four years' sentence won them much sympathy not only in Brazil but also in Europe.¹⁴ Among ultramontane circles they were naturally regarded as martyrs. The Brazilian clergy, though for the most part holding aloof from the controversy, felt keenly the affront suffered by their bishops. This grievance against the Empire, harbored in secret, found passionate expression upon the advent of the Republic. The collective pastoral letter of March 19, 1890, written by the former Bishop of Pará, now Archbishop of Bahia, and signed by the entire Brazilian episcopate declared: "We have just witnessed a spectacle which filled the universe with astonishment; one of those events by which the Almighty, when it is pleasing unto Him, teaches tremendous lessons to peoples and kings; a throne sud-

Dom Vital. On this whole subject, cf., in addition to the works already noted: Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Imperio*, III. 364-415; Padre Julio Maria, *op. cit.* 91 ff.; Padre Raphael M. Galanti, S.J., *Compendio do Historia do Brasil* 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1910), V. 32-37; J. Bournichon, *op. cit.*; Louis de Gonzague, *Une page de l'histoire du Brésil*; Mgr. Vital, *évêque d'Olinda* (Paris, 1917); Alexandre José Barbosa Lima, "Frei Vital (Bispo de Olinda)" *Revista do Instituto Historico*, 1908, pt. II. 145-152.

¹⁴ During his imprisonment Dom Vital was comfortably installed on the *Isla de Cobras* (Snake Island) where he was allowed many privileges and permitted freely to see his friends. The French papers of the time—'74, '75—under the reactionary influence of Marshal MacMahon and the dynastic aspirations of the Count of Chambord took up the defense of the prelate and described him as being surrounded by reptiles.

denly precipitated into the abyss which dissolvent principles, flourishing in its very shadow, had during a few years dug for it.”¹⁵

One of the prime factors in the collapse of the Empire was of course the growing sentiment in favor of a republic as the ideal type of government. The very name republic had a certain magical appeal among a people whose political thinking was for the most part immature. That the free soil of America, the continent of liberty, should be the seat of an empire ruled over by the scion of an old world dynasty seemed to such Brazilians illogical and absurd. *O Imperio è planta exotica no continente americano*¹⁶ was a phrase which steadily gained currency in the press and finally was heard even in Parliament. Such ideas found most ready lodgement among the professional classes, especially the lawyers and journalists. Towards the end the officers of the army became inoculated with the republican virus and, for reasons which have already been noted, republican propaganda in the last days of the Empire made rapid headway among the planters and the clergy.

A clear distinction is of course to be made between the republican ideal on the one hand, and the Republican Party, fostered by republican propaganda on the other. While the latter did not make its appearance until 1870 the former antedated the independence of Brazil and harks back in fact to the period of the French Revolution. It is a fact worthy of note that almost every political upheaval in France has had its reverberation in Brazil. In 1789 broke out the ill-starred revolution in Minas Geraes headed by Tiradentes. The July Revolution which brought Louis Philippe to the French throne was not unrelated to the forced abdication and banishment of the dictatorial Dom Pedro I. in 1831. While the Brazilian Empire had by the middle of the century struck its roots too deep to be seriously affected by the proclamation of the Second Republic in France in 1848,¹⁷ the republican spirit was by no means extinct.

¹⁵ Text given in *Livro do Centenario*, I. 108.

¹⁶ “The Empire is an exotic plant on the American continent”. Cf. Ernesto Mattoso, *Cousas de meu tempo* (Bordeaux, 1915), p. 12.

¹⁷ It is difficult to establish any direct connection between the February Revolution in France and the so-called “Revolução Praieira” which broke out in Pernambuco in 1848 and was the last civil war under the Empire.

It was not until 1870, however, that these vague republican aspirations crystallized into a definite political organization, with a program and plan of campaign. Once more the direct impetus came from abroad. The establishment of the Third Republic in France and the temporary overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain awoke powerful echoes in the only monarchy in the new world.¹⁸ On December 3, 1870, a number of the most enthusiastic of the Brazilian Republicans put forth a Manifesto destined to become famous, as it marked the beginning of a political agitation which finished only with the collapse of the Empire. This document, which was published in the first number of *A Republica*, the official organ of the new party, consists of a "Statement of Motives", followed by an "Historical Retrospect". In the latter we are informed that "the Empire has filched from the Brazilians the glorious conquests sought for by the Wars of Independence in 1822 and 1831. Liberty in appearance, despotism in reality—the form disguising the substance—such is the characteristic of our constitutional system". After a lengthy arraignment of both the spirit and organization of the Empire the Manifesto closes with an eloquent appeal to "American ideals". This document was signed by 57 Brazilians, among whom were a number who sprang into prominence in the overthrow of the Empire.¹⁹

The extravagant hopes of the signers of the Manifesto proved to be premature and with little foundation in fact. The new party, after being a nine days' wonder, caused scarcely a ripple of

¹⁸ Not inaptly has it been said that Gambetta and Castellar were the god-fathers of the Brazilian Republican Party. The former sent a cryptic letter of encouragement without offering any practical suggestions; the latter was much more to the point. He despatched an envoy versed in all the wiles of republican intrigue as practiced in Spain. In initiating the Brazilians into the theories and practices of republican propaganda he pointed out that the all essential thing was "to know how to escape."

¹⁹ *E.g.*, Aristides Lobo, and Quintino Bocayuva, ministers of the interior and foreign affairs, respectively, under the provisional government. The complete list of signers is given in Mattoso, p. 21. Cf. Pereira da Silva, *Memorias de meu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1895) II. 163.

There were a considerable number of defections from the ranks of the Republicans, including their most distinguished representative, Conselheiro Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, who became prime minister in 1883.

excitement on the placid current of Brazilian political life. The people as a whole were indifferent, the paper *A Republica*, launched with such a flourish of trumpets, died of inanition after a precarious existence of barely four years.²⁰

For the next decade and a half the movement grew slowly and adhesions were comparatively few. Its greatest vitality was to be found not in the Capital but in the provinces, particularly in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. Small but active clubs sprang into existence and in São Paulo a number of Republican Congresses were held. In this province the movement was largely under the guidance of two young and able lawyers, Manuel de Campos Salles and Prudente de Moraes Barros, both of whom became presidents of the Republic. It was not until 1884 that the Republican Party entered its candidates for election to Parliament. Although they gained three seats in the parliamentary session of 1885,²¹ their candidates were defeated in subsequent elections and it was not until the last year of the Empire that republican deputies were again returned.²²

The abolition of slavery in 1888 was a turning point in the history of the Republican Party.²³ We have seen that many of the

²⁰ It is not without interest to note the reaction of the emperor to the new party and its Manifesto. The prime minister, Marquis of São Vicente, informed Dom Pedro on the publication of this document that the imperial government should adopt as an unswerving line of conduct the policy of giving no public office to Republicans. The emperor replied: "Let the country govern itself as it desires and let the best side win (*e de razao a quem tiver*)." The prime minister somewhat scandalized pointed out that the monarchy was a dogma of the constitution and was incarnated (*encarnada*) in the person of the emperor. "In that case," replied Dom Pedro with a laugh; "if the Brazilians do not wish me for their emperor, I will go and be a professor." Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Imperio*, III. 192.

²¹ The three deputies were Prudente de Moraes and Campos Salles from São Paulo and Alvaro Botelho from Minas. Galanti, V. 95 gives excerpts of Campos Salles' maiden speech in which he makes his profession of faith.

²² This failure to return Republicans to Parliament was not due entirely to lack of popular support. Almost invariably the Liberals and Conservatives combined forces against the candidates of the new party. The high property qualifications of the electorate and the pressure exerted by the government were also factors in their defeat.

²³ Among the histories of the republican movement in Brazil two may be singled out for special mention. Both were written by partisans of the movement

slaveowners, as well as brokers and others identified with agricultural interests, enrolled in the new party or gave it their moral support. The Republicans in turn were quick to seize upon the occasion and proceeded to capitalize their advantage to the full. Hitherto republican agitation had been carried on sporadically and without system. It was now determined to launch an unremitting propaganda through the length and breadth of the Empire. The number of republican papers, especially in the provinces increased by leaps and bounds until in 1889 they amounted to 88. While few of the metropolitan dailies adopted republicanism as their credo a number were of immense indirect assistance through their unsparing attacks on the government. The Republicans also exploited for their own interest a section of the papers, particularly in the case of the great *Jornal do Commercio*, called *publicações a pedidos*, open to any type or class of contribution on the payment of a relatively small sum.

Republican agitation was by no means confined to the press. In the last years of the monarchy apostles of the new faith went up and down the land, holding public meetings, and winning proselytes to the cause. Of these itinerant propagandists the most picturesque and important was a young man named Silva Jardim, whose tragic death²⁴ shortly after the advent of the Republic, helped to invest his exploits with a legendary and heroic character having little warrant in cold fact. This remarkable man, of whose ability and intellectual endowments differing views are held by his own countrymen, seems to have had little appreciation of the common proprieties of life. But he was enflamed

and both show the partisan's impatience with the arguments of their adversaries. Christiano B. Ottoni, *O Advento da Republica no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1890) is the work of one of signers of the Manifesto of 1871, a distinguished engineer (he was director of the Dom Pedro II. Railroad), and for a number of years member of Parliament. His book, however, is not written *sine ira et studio* and his statements should be checked up by the reply written by the Viscount of Ouro Preto (the last Prime minister of the Empire) in his *Advento da Dictadura Militar no Brazil* (Paris, 1891), 127 ff. *L'Idée républicaine au Brésil*, by Oscar d'Aranjo (Paris, 1893) is an uncritical history of the republican movement.

²⁴ He lost his life in 1891 through the caving in of the rim of the crater of Mount Vesuvius. Jardim has given an entertaining account of his journeys of propaganda in his *Memórias e Viagens, Campanha de um Propagandista* (Lisboa, 1891).

with the zeal of a fanatic and possessed a certain magnetism which carried his audiences with him. Within a period of little less than two years—from January, 1888 to November 15, 1889—he passed through entire provinces, speaking in hundreds of towns and cities, heartening his coreligionists, converting the undecided and even the hostile. His tour through North Brazil in 1889 when he dogged the heels of the Prince Consort, Count d'Eu, who had undertaken this journey to revive the prestige of the monarchy, is regarded by his admirers as his greatest triumph.

It is difficult accurately to appraise the results of this republican propaganda. While converts were undoubtedly made, their number and importance may easily be exaggerated. Aside from a few zealots like Jardim and a group of able journalists and politicians in the provincial capitals the number of avowed Republicans was comparatively small. Perhaps their most striking success—if success it may be called—was to lower the prestige of the monarchy. The evidence seems to be overwhelming that in political matters the great bulk of the Brazilians were inclined to be apathetic; nowhere, outside of certain restricted circles, was there any insistent or overwhelming demand for the abolition, much less the violent overthrow, of the existing regime.

But the Republicans, even had they been much more numerous, would have been incapable of consummating the overthrow of the monarchy had its supporters rallied vigorously to its defense. Unfortunately many of this class had grown lukewarm in their devotion and loyalty to the Empire;²⁵ others played directly into the hands of the Republicans through their intemperate, and oftentimes venomous, attacks on the monarchy, attacks frequently motivated by personal pique, thwarted ambition, or merely by the spirit of the *frondeur*.²⁶ Certain it is that in the late

²⁵ Yet this feeling of indifference had by no means invaded all monarchical circles. In 1889, Senator Alfred d'Escragnolle Taunay, the distinguished author and abolitionist, made in a series of *Cartas Politicas* a dignified and impressive appeal to the monarchical elements in Brazil to rally to the support of the Empire.

²⁶ Affonso Celso (the son of the last prime minister of the Empire) then a member of Parliament informs us that the academic belief that a republic was a more perfect form of government than a monarchy was general; usually with the qualification that the country was not prepared for such a change. "At heart

seventies and eighties the star of the monarchy began to wane.²⁷ There was a growing conviction that the golden days of the Empire were over. Many Brazilians looked back with longing to a generation or even a decade earlier when under the guidance of a galaxy of able and patriotic statesmen chosen by the emperor, Brazil reaped the benefits of what was in many respects a model constitutional government. In the great days of Olinda,²⁸ Paraná,²⁹ Zacharias,³⁰ the Elder Rio Branco,³¹ and Nabuco de Araujo,³² Brazil was a standing refutation of the jibes of such foreign critics as Lastarria and Alberdi that the only American empire had as the maxims of its policy internal despotism and unscrupulous foreign aggression.³³

One of the most striking indications of the decline of the Empire was the increasing sterility with which the two great political parties seemed to be afflicted, a sterility which was naturally reflected in the labors of Parliament. There was gradually forced home to the thoughtful Brazilian the conviction that the Liberals and Conservatives had abandoned their earlier ideas in favor of a sordid opportunism. The complete volte-face of the Conservative Party in 1888 when it espoused the cause of emancipation, a question whose solution logically devolved upon the Liberals, gave rise to the most cynical commentaries.

Justly or unjustly the emperor was also taxed with the responsibility for the political disintegration which appeared towards the end of his reign. There is reason to believe that the charge harbors at least a kernel of truth. During the waning of the Empire, Dom Pedro was a weary, and for months at a time, a

I am a Republican", affirmed many a higher government functionary. Government offices; learned academies, higher schools contained many such. *Oito Annos do Parlamento*, p. 260.

²⁷ This point is freely conceded by Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Imperio*, II. 407.

²⁸ Prime-minister during the periods 1850-1851, 1857-1858, 1862-1864.

²⁹ Prime minister during the period 1853-1857.

³⁰ Prime minister during the periods 1862, 1864-1865; 1868.

³¹ Prime minister, 1871-1875.

³² Minister of justice, 1858-1859; 1865.

³³ The attitude of Alberdi towards Brazil is so well known as to make further comment unnecessary. Lastarria's strictures are to be found in his *La América*, 2 vols. (Madrid, n. d.) II. 453 ff.

sick man. Towards the end his attitude in regard to public affairs was colored with a certain scepticism merging into fatalism. He made little effort to stave off the catastrophe with which he must have seen his dynasty was menaced.

The attacks on the emperor which did so much to impair the prestige of the monarchy had as their chief burden the abuse of those prerogatives granted him by the constitution under the designation of the Moderative Power.²⁴ Under cover of this authority, the emperor was accused of having set up a kind of veiled and irresponsible despotism to which the name of *poder pessoal* was loosely applied. In the appointment of his prime ministers he constantly aimed, it was charged, at maintaining a certain equilibrium between the two political parties in order that the balance of power might always remain in his hands. Though nominally responsible to Parliament, the ministry, critics declared, was really under the control of the emperor. Confronted with a hostile Chamber of Deputies, the ministry was more apt to dissolve Parliament than to go out of office. The electoral system was such that any ministry following dissolution was able to secure a unanimous Chamber and thus remain in office at the good pleasure of the emperor. Dom Pedro was furthermore accused of never allowing his ministers to rise in popular estimation beyond a certain level; nor did he ever accord them his full confidence.

These accusations were by no means confined to zealous Republicans whose stock in trade consisted in disparagement of the Empire. The utterances of a number of Dom Pedro's distinguished ex-ministers have become almost classic. Eusebio de Queiroz,²⁵ after having been minister for a little over two years, said to his friends: "Who has once been minister of Dom Pedro must put aside all sense of shame to occupy such a post a second time". Senator Silveira Martins²⁶ stated in Parliament: "The Government is bad; the system is bad. We are living under a disguised absolutism; it is necessary to end it". Ferreira Vi-

²⁴ Constitution of 1824, Tit. V., ch. I.

²⁵ Minister of Justice in the Olinda Cabinet, 1850-1852.

²⁶ Minister of finance in 1878.

anna,³⁷ speaking of the emperor declared: "Forty years of falsehoods, perfidy, domination, usurpation; a caricature of a Caesar; a prince who is a conspirator." But the most celebrated of these indictments was that of the famous novelist José de Alencar.³⁸ In 1870, possibly as a result of the emperor's refusal to appoint him a member of the Senate, he violently broke with Dom Pedro and in a series of articles contributed to the press of Rio de Janeiro subjected both the emperor and the *poder pessoal* to a scathing arraignment. The sensation caused by these attacks of Alencar was heightened by the fact that less than a decade earlier in a widely-read work entitled "Letters to the Emperor" and signed by "Erasmus" he had depicted Dom Pedro as a model constitutional monarch whose excellent intentions were frequently thwarted by an oligarchy of self-seeking politicians. But in 1870 Alencar entirely recanted his earlier beliefs; the emperor has become a despot while the *poder pessoal* "like a monstrous octopus invades everything from the transcendent questions of high politics to the trifles (*nugas*) of petty administration."³⁹

It is now recognized that these attacks on the alleged exercise of despotic power by the emperor are somewhat wide of the mark. Under the social and political conditions then prevailing in Brazil the emperor could hardly have avoided the exercise of the *poder pessoal*, which was thrust upon him by the force of circumstances. There did not exist that indispensable prerequisite to a genuinely representative government—the expression of national opinion by means of a popular vote. We can clearly see now—a fact necessarily obscure to contemporaries—that the smooth functioning of the machinery of government year after year without a serious breakdown was due in large measure to this tireless vigilance of the emperor. Despotic Dom Pedro may have been at times. Not always were the susceptibilities of his ministers duly safeguarded. But above the interest of parties, of cabinets, of the dynasty itself, was the higher interest of the nation; this was the

³⁷ Minister of justice in 1888.

³⁸ Minister of justice in 1868-1870.

³⁹ A long and sympathetic discussion of the quarrel between Dom Pedro and the author of the *Cartas ao Imperador* is given by Escagnolle Taunay in his *Reminiscencias* (Rio de Janeiro, n. d.). Cf. Freire, *op. cit.*, I. 146.

loadstar by which the actions of the emperor were guided; this the touchstone by which he judged both men and events. In the phrase of the Brazilian historian, Oliveira Lima, "if there was any despotism, it was the despotism of morality."⁴⁰

If despite these attacks the emperor was to the very end of his reign the object of affection and esteem by large classes of the Brazilians, the same could not be said of his daughter Princess Isabella, and the Prince Consort, Count d'Eu. Both were unpopular; both were the victims of charges and calumnies having little basis in fact. More specifically, the princess was accused of being under the control of the church; it was freely declared that on the death of her father the policy of the government would be amenable to clerical influences.⁴¹ As for the prince consort nothing could be alleged against him save his reserved, somewhat formal bearing and the fact that he was a foreigner.⁴²

⁴⁰ In July 1889, Salvador de Medonça, Brazilian Minister to the United States had an audience with the emperor just before he departed for his post. Dom Pedro said to him: "Study with special care the organization of the Supreme Court of Justice at Washington. I believe that in the function of the Supreme Court is the secret of the successful operation of the American Constitution. When you return we must have a conference on the subject. Between ourselves things do not go well and it seems to me that if we could create here a tribunal of the type of the Supreme Court and transfer to it the attributes of the Moderative Power of our constitution things would do better. Give every attention to this point. Mendonça, *Situação Internacional do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913) p. 103.

⁴¹ The popularity won by Princess Isabella through her signature of the Law of May 13 was largely dissipated as the result of an agitation which came to a head later in the year. Largely at the instance of the German colonists in Southern Brazil a bill was introduced into Parliament designed to remove certain legal disabilities under which the Protestants still labored. The bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the Chamber partly as a result of petition of protest signed by some 14,000 Brazilian women. The princess was accused of having instigated the protest although her name did not appear among the signers. T. H. Fulano, *Der Sturz des Kaiserthrones in Brasilien* (Köln, 1902), p. 91 where the petition is given. Fulano's real name was Pfarrer Esch. He was father confessor of the imperial family and for many years confidant of Dom Pedro II.

⁴² The Count d'Eu was the oldest son of the Duke of Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe. He was born in 1842. The causes of the unpopularity of the Prince Consort have been analyzed at length by Ernesto Mattoso in his *Cousas de Meu Tempo* (Bordeaux, 1916), pp. 141-171. For the most part they were trivial or even frivolous.

In spite of the alienation of the planters and the clergy; in spite of the inroads made by republican propaganda in the ranks of intellectuals and to a certain extent among the mass of the people; in spite of the waning prestige of the dynasty, the Empire might have lasted many years longer had it been able to count on the loyalty of the army. Without the active participation of certain military elements the Republic would not have been declared on November 15, 1889. What were the causes of the disaffection in the army? What plausible reasons could the military leaders advance for their abandonment of the emperor?

The whole subject of the rôle of the army in the collapse of the Empire is both complicated and controversial. Even now, over a quarter of a century after the event, there exist the sharpest divisions of opinion as to the motives and even honesty of the leaders of the revolt.

Broadly speaking Brazil had been free from the blight of militarism so typical of certain of her Spanish American neighbors. Military dictatorships had been unknown. The higher positions in the government had been filled almost entirely by civilians; it is significant that of the fifty-four ministers of war in the thirty-six cabinets under Dom Pedro II., only eighteen had been officers in the army. While the wellknown pacifist leanings of the emperor were partly responsible for this situation the Brazilian people as a whole were strongly averse to militarism.

The Brazilian army had given a good account of itself in the few foreign conflicts in which the nation had been involved; especially was this true of the Paraguayan War in which both the army and navy added heroic chapters to the annals of Brazilian history. Yet the army, especially in times of peace, had never been a model of discipline. The civil wars and revolutions which had characterized the period of the Regency (1831-1840) and the early years of Dom Pedro's reign had bred a feeling of recklessness and even insolence among the army chiefs. The contact with the Platine Republics during the conflict with the tyrant Rosas and during the Paraguayan War had a deleterious effect. Despite the efforts of President Mitre of Argentina to infuse a new spirit into Argentine institutions only too often the Bra-

zilians found in their southern neighbors a school of despotism and all the evils of *caudillismo*. The chronic disturbance in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, necessitating the presence of large forces on the Uruguayan frontier, aggravated these evils. Finally the imagination of certain of the Brazilian chieftains was captivated by the sinister but dynamic personalities of Rosas, Rivera, and the younger López.⁴³

During the decade of peace following the Paraguayan War the army became increasingly lax in discipline and morale. The type of instruction given in the military schools indirectly fostered this tendency. As a result of a series of reforms in higher education, science, and mathematics were given the places of honor in the curricula.⁴⁴ The result was that instruction became theoretical rather than practical; purely military subjects were relegated to a secondary place. Many young officers prized the degree of *bacharel* (bachelor) and *doutor* (doctor) more than their military patents. The lower officers began to find vent for their energies in political discussion in which the terms freedom and equality figured prominently; the higher officers were often more concerned with literature and the vogue of the Positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte than with military tactics or discipline. The privates, recruited almost exclusively from the lower classes, prone to regard their officers as they would plantation overseers with the additions of gold braid and trappings, were so much malleable material in the hands of their leaders.⁴⁵

All public agitators at the time, republican or otherwise, upheld the doctrine that the members of the army were subject to military discipline only when on duty or in action. At other times they might freely participate in public affairs as "citizens in uniform."

⁴³ López especially impressed Floriano Peixotto, one of the leading actors in the drama of 1889. "That is the kind of man we need in Brazil", he said to a fellow officer during the Paraguayan War. Tobias Monteiro, *Pesquisas e Despoimentos para a Historia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), p. 118.

⁴⁴ The educational reforms of the period are admirably characterized by Dr. Oliveira Lima, *Sept Ans de République au Brésil*, in the *Nouvelle Revue*, August 1 and 15, 1896.

⁴⁵ Eduardo Prado, *Fastos da Dictadura Militar no Brazil* (Lisbon, 1890), pp. 68-69; Monteiro, p. 123. Prado states that the army was over-officered, the proportion to privates being 1 to 13. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

In a country like Brazil, in which military discipline is not reenforced by long tradition and in which politics is one of the dominant passions of the race, such a doctrine was especially seductive to those unfamiliar with the problems of government.⁴⁶

Under these circumstances many of the officers began to aspire to a brilliant rôle in politics. This tendency was increased through the absence of any law debarring members of the army from a political career. A number of officers were elected to the Chamber of Deputies and were appointed to life membership in the Senate. Protected by their parliamentary immunities they did not hesitate to attack members of the cabinet including the minister of war. Further possibilities of tension between the military and the government were always present owing to insistence of certain of the officers on their alleged right to ventilate their grievances through the medium of the press.

The historians of the revolt of 1889⁴⁷ have succeeded in creating the legend that the army during the last years of the monarchy was the victim of intolerable injustice and vindictive persecution on the part of the government and that it was only when all other means of redress were exhausted that recourse was had to armed rebellion. But when the specific grievances of the army are subjected to a close scrutiny they shrink to pitiable dimensions. For the most part they are either frivolous or based on a palpable misunderstanding. It is possible that the imperial government treated the army with neglect but there is no evidence that this neglect was studied or due to any animus. The unprejudiced investigator is forced to the conclusion that in the final instance the real grievance of the military was the refusal of the government to grant the army a privileged position in the state. Had Brazil possessed a strong military tradition; had the army been content to eschew politics and confine itself purely

⁴⁶ Once in power the adherents to this doctrine beginning with the chief of the Provisional Government, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, promptly repudiated it. Instances abound during the first few years of the Republic. Cf. Monteiro, p. 139.

⁴⁷ E. g. Freire, *Historia Constitucional*; Ottoni, *O Advento da Republica no Brazil*; Anfrísio Fialho, *Historia da Fundação da Republica no Bresil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1892).

to its proper rôle of providing for national defense and internal security, it is improbable that any serious issue would ever have arisen.

The first serious clash between the army and the government occurred in 1883. Under the belief that a bill⁴⁸ fathered by Senator Paranaguá was a covert attack on the army, a large number of officers of the Military School of Rio de Janeiro formed a *Directorio* whose chief object was to launch a press campaign against the measure. Adhesions from higher officials including a number of generals, and even from students of the Military School poured in. A certain Lieutenant Colonel Senna Madureira, whom we shall meet later, wrote a series of articles for the *Jornal do Commercio* vigorously attacking the bill. Partly as a result of this agitation the obnoxious measure was thrown out by the Senate; at the same time the government called attention to the ministerial *avisos*, repeatedly issued, prohibiting officers of the army from having recourse to the public press without the previous consent of the minister of war.⁴⁹

The year 1883 also witnessed an event which filled the supporters of the monarchy with the gloomiest forebodings and served as a direct encouragement to the unbridled pretension of the army. As is well known the press under the Empire enjoyed a freedom frequently degenerating into a license which did not spare the imperial family itself. Under cover of this toleration a number of disreputable and scurrilous sheets were published in Rio de Janeiro. Such a paper was *O Corsario* (*The Corsair*), edited by one Apulcho de Castro. In the fall of 1883 appeared a series of vicious attacks on the reputation and honor of a cavalry officer stationed in the Capital. Rumor had it that the victim of these attacks, together with certain of his brother officers, was

⁴⁸ The bill itself was an apparently innocuous measure providing for the organization by the military of a *Monte Pio*, a kind of loan and insurance association. Details of the measure are given in Freire, I. 181.

⁴⁹ The first of these *avisos*, that of October 4, 1859, signed by the minister of war, declared that "every soldier who turned to the press to provoke conflicts or bring disrespect on his superiors, lays himself open to the most severe punishment." An *aviso* of a similar tenor had been issued October 1, 1882. Monteiro, p. 128.

plotting vengeance on the editor of the offensive sheet. Fearing the worst Castro appealed to the police for protection. The chief of police sought the cooperation of the ministry of war. The decision was reached to remove Castro in broad daylight to a distant part of the city where he might be safe from his enemies. To assure him protection a certain Captain Avila was detailed by the ministry of war to accompany him. But the carriage had hardly left the police station before it was beset by a mob in which a number of officers, dressed as civilians, figured prominently. Castro was stabbed to death despite the protests of his escort. In the official investigation which followed no serious effort was made to apprehend or punish the perpetrators of this crime. Both the police department and the ministry of war were held in popular opinion to have been derelict in their duty. The painful impression caused by this outrage was deepened by the fact that while the investigation was still pending the emperor saw fit to visit the quarters of the regiment to which the suspected assassins belonged. Possibly no single event in the later days of the Empire did more to bring the monarchy into disrepute than the unpunished assassination of an obscure and wretched journalist.⁵⁰

The order issued by the minister of war, forbidding officers from ventilating their grievances in the press, was soon disregarded. In 1886 Colonel Cunha Mattos published an attack on one of the deputies who had accused him in the Chamber of conduct in the Paraguayan War unbecoming an officer. The dispute became so acrimonious that the government felt constrained to act. In July, Minister of War Alfredo Chaves formally censured Cunha Mattos, pointing out that he had not only disregarded various ministerial *avisos* but also the order of the adjutant general, which under date of December 20, 1884, had forbidden any officer

⁵⁰ *Jornal do Commercio*, October 26, 1883, where a circumstantial account of the assassination, which took place the preceding day, is given. Cf. Mattoso, p. 26 ff. for the setting of this drama. The wellknown Brazilian historian, Pereira da Silva, in his *Memórias de meu Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro 1895), II. 262 gives a long but exceedingly inaccurate account of this affair, which he declares occurred not in 1883 but in 1885. Galanti, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1910), V. 6-9 falls into the same errors.

from carrying on a discussion in the press, even to vindicate himself from unjust accusations.⁵¹ He was sentenced to a nominal imprisonment of eight hours in the headquarters of the general staff.

As Cunha Mattos received both the censure and punishment without protest the incident might soon have been forgotten but for the unexpected and intemperate action of Senator Pelotas. The Viscount of Pelotas, General Camara, as one of the heroes of the Paraguayan War, enjoyed general esteem and wielded great influence in military circles. As a friend and fellow officer of Cunha Mattos he felt called upon to take up his defense. In a lengthy speech, vibrant with suppressed emotion, delivered in the Senate on August 2, 1886 he expressed amazement at the severe punishment inflicted upon the offending officer and declared that the other officers of the army would see in the sufferings of their comrade an offense committed against them all. "The official who is wounded in his military honor has the imprescriptible right to avenge himself." When one of the Senators interjected, "if the law permits it", Pelotas replied: "I do not say that our laws permit it; I am informing the noble minister of war of what I understand a soldier should do when he is wounded in his honor . . . and he who is speaking will thus proceed whether or not there is a law to prevent him. I place my honor above all else".⁵² The effects of this tirade, uttered by an old soldier, a veteran of the Paraguayan War, on the younger officers needs no comment. The following year when the military question had reached an acute stage the prime minister rightly charged Pelotas with the major responsibility for the crisis.

Meanwhile the government, hoping to strengthen the hands of the minister of war, submitted the whole question of the use of the press by the army to the Supreme Military Council. This body handed down a decision to the effect that the members of the army, like all other citizens, might according to the constitution, freely have recourse to the public press. The only excep-

⁵¹ Monteiro, p. 127.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

tion was questions exclusively between members of the military; these should be forbidden lest discipline suffer. This decision, which played directly into the hands of the radical elements of the army, was naturally regarded as a severe blow to the government. Had it been wise it would have at once recognized that its position in regard to the censures based on the ministerial *avisos*, or even on the order of the adjutant general, was no longer tenable. This it refused to do and as a result soon found itself in a false and even ridiculous position.⁵³

While the tension created by the Cunha Mattos episode was still acute, fresh fuel was added to the fire. On August 16, 1886, Lieutenant Colonel Senna Madureira published in a paper in Rio Grande do Sul an article intended to vindicate himself against a slight which he alleged had been cast upon him by a member of the Senate. The article, widely copied in the metropolitan press, aroused much comment. When reprimanded by Minister Alfredo Chaves, unlike Cunha Mattos he refused to accept the rebuke in silence.⁵⁴ In November, 1886, he published a vigorous memorial in which he took the ground that no law forbade an officer from defending himself in the press, adding that he for one would refuse to recognize the competency of the minister of war in such matters. He wound up his memorial with the demand that he be granted a trial before a council of war.⁵⁵

This protest of Madureira, coupled with the refusal of Alfredo Chaves to remove the censure or permit a trial before a council of war caused great resentment among the military and won for Madureira much sympathy and admiration among the various elements opposed to the government. The fact that he was known to possess strong republican leanings was an added circumstance in his favor. A new and ominous factor was suddenly injected into the controversy when there rallied to his support perhaps the most popular official in the entire army, General

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁴ Madureira's reputation for discipline was not of the best. In 1886, at the height of the Paraguayan War, General Caxias said of him: "He is an officer of intelligence and has shown valor but he is very insubordinate." Monteiro, p. 132.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Deodoro da Fonseca, destined to be the outstanding personality in the Revolution of 1889, the Chief of the Provisional Government, and first President of the Republic. At this time he was the chief military authority in Rio Grande do Sul and was also vice-president of the province. Possessed of but moderate intellectual gifts, headstrong and impulsive, passionately convinced of the justice of any cause he espoused, he was only too often the pliant tool of men more clever or less scrupulous than himself.⁵⁶ At the present critical juncture he took up the cause of Madureira and granted permission to a large number of officers stationed at Porto Alegre to hold a meeting of protest against the acts of the minister of war.

The prime minister, Baron Cotegipe, whose cabinet (conservative) had held office since August 20, 1885 fully realized the importance of having Deodoro as a friend rather than an enemy. But when both persuasions and blandishments⁵⁷ proved unavailing, he relieved Deodoro from his duties in Rio Grande do Sul and summoned him to Rio de Janeiro. With his own and his brother officers' grievances rankling in his breast⁵⁸ the disgruntled general was willing to go to any length to humiliate the cabinet and render its position untenable. On February 2, 1887, was held under his patronage a great meeting of protest in one of the

⁵⁶ In an interview granted by Deodoro less than two months before the fall of the Empire the following dialogue took place: "Are you a Conservative?" "I am a Conservative because the Conservative Party protects the army. (At this time the Liberals were in power.) I have had but one protector, Solano Lopez. I owe to him, who provoked the Paraguayan War, my career." Ernesto Senna, *Deodoro, Subsídios para a História* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), p. 19.

⁵⁷ The interchange of correspondence between Deodoro and Cotegipe prior to their break is extremely interesting. After pointing out how prejudicial to the discipline of the army and the prestige of the government the conduct of Deodoro was likely to prove the prime minister intimated that Deodoro might, with his assistance, aspire to a seat in the Senate and to a title of nobility, probably that of "Baron of Alagoas." The general thus summarized his reply: "My answer was that the seats in the Senate should be offered to *políticos* . . . and as for titles of nobility I content myself with a nobility of sentiments. I wish to be a simple soldier; therefore I refuse both gifts, preferring to remain at the side of my brothers in arms." A. J. Ribas, *Perfil biographico de Campos Salles* (Rio de Janeiro, 1896), p. 110; cf. also Freire, I. 185 ff.; Fialho, p. 65.

⁵⁸ In a letter to Cotegipe, Deodoro declared that the wound inflicted upon the army was *forte, cruel e mortal*. Galanti, V. 99.

largest theatres of the Capital. Over two hundred officers were present and the public was admitted to the galleries. From the first it was evident that the purpose of the meeting was to bring pressure to bear upon the government. To the accompaniment of tremendous applause a motion was carried investing Deodoro with full authority to defend before both the government and the emperor the rights of his comrades and his class.⁵⁹ In pursuance of this mandate, on February 5, Deodoro sent an open letter to Dom Pedro. Although the writer professed loyalty to the monarchy the burden of the letter was a recital of bitter accusations against the government and insistent demands for justice to the army. It was a frank effort to override and break down the constitutional powers of the government.⁶⁰

In the face of this assault the ministry fell a victim to divided counsels. When energy and unity were essential the cabinet temporized and fell back upon half measures which tended only to aggravate the seriousness of the crisis. There is evidence that the minister of war favored drastic action: Deodoro should be retired from the army and the Military School—rapidly becoming a hotbed of anti-dynastic intrigue—should be closed. But Cote-gipe and possibly the emperor opposed these measures and on February 12 Alfredo Chaves tendered his resignation. Once again the belief gained currency that the government had been worsted by the army.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The text of this motion may be found in Monteiro, pp. 137-138.

⁶⁰ The text of this and the subsequent letter written by Deodoro to Dom Pedro is given by Ribas, p. 115 ff.

⁶¹ The exact measures proposed by Alfredo Chaves have never been disclosed; that they were far-reaching was admitted by Cote-gipe at the opening of Parliament the following May. Cote-gipe essayed to defend his temporizing course: "It is very easy to advise 'strike, seize, cut off heads,' but in practice we are often obliged to yield in order not to sacrifice higher interests." (Monteiro, p. 141.) The future was to show that on such fundamental questions compromises were fatal. The perspicacious editor of the *Rio News* wrote, on February 15, à propos of the resignation of Alfredo Chaves: "Whether or not the ministry remains in power this abandonment of their colleague in face of such insubordination will not reflect much credit either on their judgment or their courage. And it must be confessed that the emperor has made a serious mistake in not supporting vigorous measures. We are inclined to think that the worst results of this controversy are yet to be experienced."

On the very day that the minister of war left the cabinet Deodoro wrote another open letter to the emperor in which references to the government were couched in even more violent and minatory terms than in its predecessor. To neither of these letters did Dom Pedro vouchsafe either acknowledgment or reply. Cotegipe declared in this connection that "the cabinet would not remain in power a single hour if it ceased to be the channel through which all communications should pass to his Majesty".⁶²

Although Cotegipe had refused to support the minister of war his own course of action was little calculated to allay the growing resentment of the army. On the burning question of the rights of the two officers, Cunha Mattos and Madureira—nominally the pivot about which the whole controversy turned—he yielded to the extent of offering to remove the censures if this were asked for as a favor and not demanded as a right. This compromise the leaders of the army indignantly rejected and on May 14, 1887, was given to the press an energetic and vigorously worded manifesto addressed "to Parliament and to the Nation", and signed by both Deodoro and Pelotas. The gist of this document was the necessity of appealing to the Brazilian people and their representatives for the justice denied the army by the ministry.⁶³ At the same time Pelotas delivered a speech in the Senate in which he warned the ministry of its dangerous course, ending his address with the covert threat that unless the cabinet reconsidered its action the army might be forced to take independent measures to defend its own interests.⁶⁴

⁶² Monteiro, p. 138.

⁶³ The text of the manifesto is given in Fialho, pp. 80-85. The authorship of the document, according to Cunha Mattos, belonged to Ruy Barbosa, editor of the *Diario de Noticias*, a strong, anti-administration organ. Monteiro, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ The following excerpt will sufficiently characterize the spirit of Pelotas's address. "I earnestly beg the noble President of the Council (Cotegipe) to reconsider his act, not in order to afford me any personal satisfaction, but for the love of this country. If he refuses to do so we cannot predict what the future may bring forth in spite of the confidence which the noble President of the Council reposes in the armed forces of the nation which he has under his command. The circumstances may be such that they will fail him." Galanti, V. 102.

A way out of the impasse into which the ministry and army chiefs had drifted was at length suggested by Senator Silveira Martins on May 20. The government was invited to declare null and void the censures directed against the two officers, thus bringing the whole episode to a close. After some hesitation this solution was accepted by the cabinet; Cotegipe recognized that it emerged from the controversy "with its dignity somewhat scratched" (*cum alguns arranhões na dignidade*), a phrase which became celebrated.⁶⁵

The heavy atmosphere of suspicion and distrust was only partly clarified by these eleventh hour concessions wrung from the ministry. The military question was suddenly complicated by the emancipation movement, which as we have seen, came to a head in 1888. During the summer and fall of 1887, the slaves, especially in the Province of São Paulo, began to abandon their plantations *en masse*. As the local authorities were quite unable to cope with the situation recourse was had to the army. But the task of chasing run-away slaves was exceedingly repugnant to the soldiery. This sentiment was shared by Deodoro and the powerful Military Club of Rio de Janeiro. In October, 1887, the club sent a petition to Princess Isabella, who was then acting as regent, begging in the name of humanity, that the army be relieved of this odious task. Isabella ignored the petition, while Cotegipe, who was generally regarded as hostile to the abolition movement, refused to act. In practice, however, the soldiery proved a broken reed to the planters, as they rarely if ever captured the slaves whom they were supposed to pursue. None the less the whole episode tended still further to estrange the army from the government.⁶⁶

The Cotegipe cabinet, after having weathered so many storms, was fated to go down to defeat before the pressure from the army, which on this particular occasion had joined hands with the navy. In the spring of 1888, an officer of the navy, Captain Leite Lobo, while dressed as a civilian, was apprehended by the

⁶⁵ Details of the compromise are given in Monteiro, p. 157.

⁶⁶ Monteiro, p. 171, where long excerpts of the petition are given. Cf. also Galanti, V. 49 and Duque-Estrada, *A Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro, 1918), *passim*.

police on pretexts which he regarded as frivolous and subjected to various indignities before his release was effected. The influential Naval Club, vigorously supported by the disaffected elements in the army, raised a great hue and cry, demanding the resignation of the chief of police. Cotegipe refused to yield to this clamor and when Princess Isabella acceded to the demands of the Naval Club and the army, the prime minister resigned (March, 1888).⁶⁷ Still another triumph was added to the laurels of the army in its conflict with the government.

The Cotegipe ministry was followed by that of João Alfredo (March 10, 1888), likewise conservative. We have already noted that the energies of the new cabinet were largely absorbed by the solution of the emancipation problem and the great act of May 13. Partly on this account the military question was temporarily relegated to the background. The cabinet showed, however, that it could act with vigor and firmness when occasion demanded. When, at the beginning of 1889, rumor reached Brazil that a conflict was impending between Paraguay and Bolivia the government adopted the bold course of sending to the frontier in distant Matto Grosso two battalions from the Capital under the command of Deodoro, thus removing from Rio de Janeiro the most important leader of the dangerous faction in the army. Had João Alfredo's successor persisted in this course of action the next decade of Brazilian history would have been quite a different story.

On June 7, 1889, came into office the last cabinet of the Empire. It was recruited from the Liberal party and was presided over by Affonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, Viscount of Ouro Preto. The new prime minister was a man of ripe experience in public affairs. He had held the portfolios of finance and war in 1879 and 1882 respectively and had also served a long apprenticeship in both houses of Parliament and in the Council of State. He was a brilliant lawyer, a formidable debater, and a sincere and devoted supporter of the Empire and the reigning dynasty.⁶⁸ As a close

⁶⁷ Monteiro, p. 161; Galanti, V. 103.

⁶⁸ The monarchical convictions of the prime minister were put to the test on his first appearance before Parliament. One of the Deputies, Padre João Manoel,

student of political and economic problems he fully realized that the maladies from which the Empire was suffering were amenable only to the most drastic and thorough-going remedies. The program which he submitted to Parliament embodied the most comprehensive series of reforms ever sponsored by any of Dom Pedro's ministers. These reforms included extension of the suffrage through the removal of property qualifications, full autonomy of the provinces and the municipalities, election of the presidents of the provinces instead of their appointment, abolition of the life Senate, reorganization of the Council of State, freedom of education and its improvement, reform in agrarian legislation, reduction of export duties, and promotion of credit establishments designed especially to aid the agricultural interests in tiding over the crisis caused by emancipation.⁶⁹

There is some warrant for the belief that Ouro Preto's heroic measures to inject new life into the decrepit institutions of the Empire would have attained a measure of success had they been granted a fair trial. Early in his ministry he won the full confidence of the business circles of the capital; by a stroke of brilliant financiering he converted a portion of Brazil's foreign debt on very favorable terms; foreign exchange, always a barometer of the prosperity of the country for the first time in the history of the

wound up an attack on the government with the phrase "Down with the Monarchy! Long live the Republic!" a cry never before heard in Parliament. Hardly was the seditious but loudly applauded speech finished before Ouro Preto rose to reply. By the testimony of his own enemies he showed himself fully equal to the task. In a voice trembling with indignation he delivered himself of an eloquent and passionate defense of the monarchy. The opening paragraph perhaps deserves to be cited: "Long live the Republic! No! no! a thousand times no! It is under the monarchy that we have won the freedom of which other peoples envy us and we can conserve this liberty with sufficient amplitude to satisfy the most high spirited and freedom-loving nation. Long live the Monarchy! the form of government which the immense majority of the nation embraces and is the only one which can insure its greatness and felicity. Yes! Long live the Brazilian Monarchy! so democratic, so self-sacrificing, so patriotic, that it would be the first to yield to the wishes of the nation and would not oppose the least obstacle to a change in our institutions if the desire were presented through the proper channels." Affonso Celso (son of the prime minister) *Oito Annos de Parlamento*, p. 106.

⁶⁹ *Organizações e programmas ministeraes desde 1822 a 1888* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889), 243.

Empire went above par.⁷⁰ His political reforms, could they have been carried out, would have gone far towards neutralizing the propaganda of the Republicans by showing that the monarchy was quite capable of meeting the demands of the Brazilian people for a fuller participation in public affairs. The large measure of autonomy granted the provinces would have met the justifiable charge that the Empire had fallen victim to an excessive centralization. There were not lacking impartial observers who predicted that under the guidance of Ouro Preto the Empire was about to take on a new lease of life.

Unfortunately the new cabinet in its laudable desire to quicken the economic and political currents of the nation failed to attach sufficient weight to what was after all the gravest menace to the Empire: the grievances and pretensions of the military. To be sure, Ouro Preto had some reason to depreciate the importance of the military question. The army, it would seem, had won all its contentions. The honor of the two aggrieved officers had been fully vindicated; the right of the army to ventilate its grievances in the press had been recognized; the ministry, which had attempted to thwart the wishes of the military, had gone down to defeat. Moreover, the first acts of the Ouro Preto cabinet presaged a policy of conciliation. Probably at the instance of the emperor, two high military and naval officers, Viscount of Maracajú and Baron Ladario were assigned the portfolios of war and marine respectively, thus breaking a long tradition of civilian appointments. The object was probably to allay discontent among the officers by placing them under control of men of their own profession. As a further concession, Ouro Preto recalled from

⁷⁰ It is hardly necessary to add that Ouro Preto's financial and economic reforms were subjected both during and after his ministry to bitter and at times unfair criticism. Two of the most influential papers of the Capital, *O Paiz*, edited by the avowed Republican Quintino Bocayuva, and *O Diario de Noticias*, edited by the brilliant orator and journalist Ruy Barbosa, kept up an unceasing attack on the cabinet. During the provisional government, Ruy Barbosa as minister of finance drew up a terrific arraignment of Ouro Preto's financial measures especially his plan of aiding the agricultural interests (the so called *auxílios à lavoura*). This attack may be found in Campos Porto, *Apontamentos*. The ex-prime minister met these charges in detail in *A Decada da Republica* (Rio de Janeiro, 2d ed., 1902) I. 3-231.

Matto Grosso General Deodoro da Fonseca. The future was soon to reveal that the prime minister could hardly have committed a worse blunder.

It soon appeared that all attempts on the part of Ouro Preto to bridge the ever-widening breach between the government and the army were fruitless. Of actual grievances against the new cabinet the army leaders had few and these were almost too trivial to merit serious discussion. The punishment of the officer in charge of the treasury guard for a minor dereliction; a clash between the soldiery and police in Minas Geraes; the failure of Ouro Preto to accede to the wishes of the Director of the Military School of Ceará in regard to an appointment: such were the acts of the cabinet, for the most part purely disciplinary in character, which were seized upon by the opposition press and enemies of the Empire as proofs of the injustice of the government towards the military. In the absence of fact the most extravagant rumors were pressed into service. It was declared that the prime minister had nothing less in mind than the total dissolution of the army; as a step in this direction certain of the regiments which were the object of Ouro Preto's special dislike were to be sent to the most distant provinces. The place of the army was to be taken by the police force of the Capital and the National Guard; the latter body according to a plot revealed by the *Diario de Noticias*, was to be armed and placed under the command of the unpopular Count d'Eu. It was even alleged that the government was contemplating the creation of a "Negro Guard" (*Guarda Negra*) to whose special protection the dynasty was to be committed.⁷¹ These charges, capitalized by the hostile press and disseminated by Republican agitators acted as a powerful sol-

⁷¹ These allegations were answered one by one by Ouro Preto in his famous *apologia* published shortly after his banishment. He absolutely denied any intention of disbanding the army; the withdrawal from the Capital of certain infantry battalions was proposed by Adjutant General Floriano Peixoto, one of the chief actors in the drama of November 15; the increase of the police force and the National Guard were fully justified on grounds at which the army could properly take no umbrage; the *Guarda Negra* was a myth pure and simple. "If any accusation is to be leveled at the government it was not oppression but too great condescension." *Advento da Dictadura Militar no Brazil*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1890), 85 ff.

vent to undermine the loyalty of the army and to weaken the monarchical sentiments of the people.⁷²

Thus far the disaffected elements in the army, with occasional exceptions, had not made common cause with the Republicans. Opposition had been directed against the government and particularly the ministry in office and not against the dynasty. In this regard the attitude of General Camara, Viscount of Pelotas, one of the signers of the famous Manifesto of May 14, 1887, was typical of that of his class. In a letter written to Ouro Preto in 1890 he declared that he had not considered the possibility of the Republic during the lifetime of the emperor.⁷³ That the plans and purposes of certain of the recalcitrant officers were directed into frankly revolutionary channels was due in large part to the teachings and machinations of a single individual, Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Constant de Botelho Magalhães.

This official, whom the more ardent of the Brazilian Republicans have regarded as not unworthy of the honors of an apotheosis,⁷⁴ had for a number of years been professor of mathematics in

⁷² A topic deserving of greater attention than is possible in the present article is the rôle played by the press in the last days of the Empire. The assaults of the opposition papers, especially *O Paiz* and *O Diario de Noticias*, on the Ouro Preto cabinet and indirectly on the monarchy were unrelenting and at times vindictive. In the appeals to the army rebellion was openly counselled. One or two instances may be noted. On the morning of November 9—less than a week before the revolt—Captain Antonio de Espirito Santo wrote in *O Diario*: "Comrades, the moment is a tragic one. The president of the council (Ouro Preto) intends to annihilate (*aniquilar*) the army. We are under the heel of a daring and ambitious dictator." On the 11th, the same writer thus apostrophized the prime minister: "Tyrannical President of the Council! The oppression (of the army) is a crime. The usurpation of the government is a crime of high treason. Comrades! On your guard in defense of the country!" And finally in a series of leading articles appearing during the first fortnight of November from the pen of Ruy Barbosa, the editor, clear intimations are given that some mysterious and dire catastrophe is impending. (These articles are reprinted in the introduction to Campos Porto under the caption "Prenuncio".) A recent writer (Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.* p. 307) speaks of the Ouro Preto ministry as "Flagellated by the adamantine pen of Ruy Barbosa, who incited and aided the army to overturn the throne, and was thus the real founder of the Republic." It is of interest to note that the preface to this work was written by Ruy Barbosa.

⁷³ Monteiro, p. 147. Fialho, p. 110, gives similar testimony in regard to Admiral Wandenkolk, who was minister of marine under the provisional government.

⁷⁴ He is repeatedly spoken of as the "glorious and immortal founder of the Brazilian Republic", etc. The standard biography of Benjamin Constant is

the Military School of Rio de Janeiro. He was a thorough exponent of that theoretical type of education which, as we have seen, had, in the latter days of the monarchy, made such headway in the Brazilian military academies. The decisive event in his intellectual development was his discovery of the philosophical system of Auguste Comte known as Positivism. The young professor was fascinated with the seductive theories of Comte which seemingly represented the definite integration of all human knowledge; during the remainder of his life he was one of the most ardent champions of Positivism in Brazil. The movement for a time made considerable headway and is regarded by some as one of the factors in the collapse of the Empire.⁷⁵ Through the misinterpretation, wilful or otherwise, of Comte's system, the Brazilian positivists claimed that they found in their master's teaching warrant for the belief that a republic was the ideal type of government. In any event, Benjamin Constant, partly as an outgrowth of his philosophical speculation, became an enthusiastic convert to the republican cause. Inspired with the zeal of a fanatic he did not scruple to inculcate in his students doctrines subversive of their loyalty to the Empire and to Dom Pedro. His keen intelligence, persuasive oratory, and sympathetic personality caused the young officers and cadets to become pliant instruments in his hands. As a consequence the Military School became a veritable hotbed of republican propaganda. It followed as a matter of course that in the controversy between the army and the government he threw the full weight of his influence into the scale in favor of the military. One incident became famous. On October 22, 1889, a group of Chilean naval officers visited the Military School. In the presence of the minister of war and the foreign guests, Benjamin Constant made an impassioned plea in favor of his comrades in arms, protesting against

that of the Positivist R. Teixeira Mendes, *Benjamin Constant, Esboço de uma apreciação sintética da vida i [sic] da obra do Fundador da Republica Brasileira*, 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

⁷⁵ The best account of the Positivist movement in Brazil is that published by Dr. Carlos Rodrigues (for many years the brilliant editor of the *Jornal do Commercio*) entitled "Religiões Acatolicas," in vol. II, 110-134 of the *Livro do Centenario* (Rio de Janeiro, 1901).

the "charge of indiscipline, disorder and insubordination leveled by the government", adding that "they would always be armed citizens but never *janizaries*". On the following day his students greeted him with vociferous applause accompanied by a shower of flowers.⁷⁶

The preliminaries of the conspiracy of which Benjamin Constant was the guiding spirit may be passed over rapidly. Unlike the other aggrieved military leaders he was held in check by no dynastic scruples or loyalty to Dom Pedro; to postpone the establishment of the Republic until the death of the emperor would in his opinion play directly into the hands of Ouro Preto and his plan for a monarchical reaction; moreover Princess Isabella and the Count d'Eu, once they were enthroned, might be much more difficult to brush aside than the kindly and peace-loving old emperor. In fine, it was Benjamin Constant's self appointed task to forge the accumulated grievances against the government and more particularly the cabinet of Ouro Preto into a weapon capable of demolishing the monarchy.

Secure in the support of the cadets of the Military School he turned to the powerful Military Club to which many of the prominent officers stationed at Rio de Janeiro belonged. At a secret meeting, held on November 9, and attended by one hundred and fifty-three officers, he was given *carte blanche* to make a final effort to obtain a cessation of the alleged persecutions to which the army was being subjected.⁷⁷ Entrusted with this commission he called upon General Deodoro da Fonseca, who, as we have just seen, had been recalled from Matto Grosso, and proposed to him a plan of action not only against the ministry but also against the monarchy. The old soldier was not immediately won over. For a time his loyalty to the emperor, from whom he had received nothing but favors, struggled hard against the passionate pleadings of Benjamin Constant. He finally capitulated: "The Old Emperor (*o Velho*) is no longer the ruler, for if he were there

⁷⁶ Galanti, V. 109.

⁷⁷ Our account of the meeting of the Military Club is derived from an article by Colonel Jacques Ourique who was present on the occasion. "A Revolução de 15 de Novembre," published originally in the *Jornal do Commercio*, and reprinted in Campos Porto, *Apointamentos*, p. 961.

would not be this persecution of the army; nevertheless, now that there is no other remedy, *carry the monarchy by assault*. There is nothing more to be hoped from it. Let the Republic come."⁷⁸

From this moment both set feverishly to work to prepare for the advent of the Republic. Up to this time, with the exception of the editor of the *Diario de Noticias*, Ruy Barbosa, no civilian had been initiated into the plot.⁷⁹ On November 11 was held a meeting at Deodoro's house at which in addition to the general and Benjamin Constant were present Ruy Barbosa, Quintino Bocayuva, Aristides Lobo, Francisco Glycerio—all prominent civilian leaders of the Republican party and later members of the provisional government. At this meeting the overthrow of the monarchy was definitely decided upon, in the words of one of the conspirators, "as a measure of urgent necessity for the salvation of the country and the only possible means of restoring the army".⁸⁰ The details of the revolt were then worked out; the uprising was scheduled for the evening of November 16 when the emperor would be holding a conference with his ministry. On the 13th the conspirators won another prominent military chieftain to their cause, namely, the adjutant-general of the army, Floriano Peixoto, a warm personal friend of Deodoro, and in due time destined to be the second president of the Republic. The adhesion of Floriano was regarded as an especial piece of good fortune as he enjoyed the entire confidence of the prime minister and the minister of war.⁸¹

It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss in detail the actual events of November 15. The military and republican plotters had things practically their own way. Up until almost the last moment the government was strangely

⁷⁸ The version of the interview given here is taken from a letter to the *Gazeta de Noticias* (July 17, 1890), written by Captain José Bevilacqua, to whom Benjamin Constant had related the conversation with Deodoro. A somewhat different account of this famous episode is given by Teixeira Mendes (I. 341): "The general hesitated long in replying but finally he rose with the exclamation: 'To the devil with the throne (*Leve o diablo o throno*). I am at your orders.'"

⁷⁹ Jacques Ourique, *loc cit.*, states that Ruy Barbosa was apprised of the details of the plot as early as September 18.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

blind to the imminence of the catastrophe. To be sure the prime minister was beset by rumors and anonymous denunciations but he refused to accord them any credence. His suspicions were first aroused when he learned something of the decisions reached at the Military Club on November 9. On November 12, he held a cabinet meeting in which he discussed with the ministers of war and justice the need of precautionary measures. But Minister of War Maracajú scouted even the possibility of a military revolt. "Have no anxiety", he stated to Ouro Preto; "we are on the watch, Floriano and I; nothing will happen".⁸² And on the following day this same Floriano Peixoto, who, as we have just seen, was adjutant-general of the army and the recipient of the full confidence of the prime minister wrote to Ouro Preto: "At this hour your Excellency must have observed that plotting is taking place in certain quarters. Attach no importance to it. . . . Trust the loyalty of the military leaders who are on the alert. I thank you once more for the favors you have deigned to bestow upon me."⁸³

Despite these assertions Ouro Preto took such eleventh hour precautions as seemed possible. On the 14th, the minister of war was requested to summon Deodoro and if his explanation of his recent conduct was unsatisfactory to remove him from the army; the president of the Province of Rio de Janeiro was ordered to concentrate such troops in the Capital as he had under his command. Finally the minister of justice was instructed to have the police force and national guard ready for any emergency.⁸⁴

The military uprising, scheduled as we have seen for the 16th of November, took place a day earlier as the result of widely

⁸² Ouro Preto, *Advento da Dictadura Militar*, p. 45.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Attempts have been made by apologists of Floriano to exculpate him of the charge of betraying the confidence of Ouro Preto. The effort can hardly be called successful. Colonel Jacques Ourique, later secretary of Deodoro, categorically states that Floriano was fully initiated into the plans of the conspirators as early as the 13th through a long conference which he had with Deodoro. (Campos Porto, *Apontamentos*, p. 961.) This is fully confirmed in an interview which Sr. Tobias Monteiro had with Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, the nephew of Deodoro and later President of Brazil. (Monteiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-247.) The republican writer, Fialho (*op. cit.*, p. 134), virtually makes the same admission.

⁸⁴ Ouro Preto, pp. 49-51.

scattered rumors, launched on the 14th, to the effect that the government had ordered the imprisonment of Deodoro and Benjamin Constant and the embarkation for the provinces of a battalion of infantry and a regiment of cavalry whose loyalty was suspected. These rumors, utterly without basis of fact, were invented by a certain Major Frederico Solon "as a patriotic stratagem of war"⁸⁵ to exacerbate the feelings of the soldiers of the Second Brigade and cause them to precipitate the revolt by taking matters into their own hands. The stratagem was successful. On the night of the 14th, the troops stationed at the imperial palace at Boa Vista in the suburbs of the Capital decided to leave their garrison and fully armed, to march to the Campo da Acclamação, a great park or square in the centre of the city where was located the office of the ministry of war. Learning of this move through Benjamin Constant, General Deodoro rose from his sick bed and hurrying to Boa Vista put himself at the head of the revolting troops.

Through the vigilance of the chief of police, the news of the uprising of the Second Brigade reached the prime minister immediately after the soldiers had left their barracks. At this crisis Ouro Preto displayed both coolness and energy. He sent word to the members of his cabinet to meet him at the marine arsenal, which was immediately placed in a state of defense to repel all attacks. The police force and the municipal firemen were ordered to be ready to march at a moment's notice. The regiments stationed on the Island of Bom Jesus and at the Fortress of Santa Cruz were summoned to the city.

But Ouro Preto was now guilty of a blunder which made the success of the revolt all but inevitable. On his arrival at the marine arsenal, Viscount Maracajú declared that he would return to the war office, which was his post in time of danger. Ouro Preto strongly urged that the entire ministry remain at the marine arsenal, which in case of attack, could be much more easily defended than the war office; moreover, owing to its location on the edge of the harbor, aid and reënforcements could easily be summoned. Maracajú not only did not yield to these arguments but seconded by Floriano Peixoto persuaded the prime minister against

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* The expression is Solon's own.

his better judgment to accompany him. "The presence of your Excellency," he observed, "is necessary to encourage resistance."⁸⁶ This was the type of appeal Ouro Preto found difficult to resist. After receiving assurances from Floriano that everything possible would be done to put down the revolt the prime minister accompanied by several members of his cabinet repaired to the war office.

Here Ouro Preto beheld evidences of both incompetency and treachery. Nothing had been done to put the large fortress-like building with its spacious courtyard in a state of defense nor had any effort been made to intercept the Second Brigade during its long march from Boa Vista to the heart of the city. Surrounded by treacherous friends and evil counsellors the prime minister was caught in a trap from which no escape was possible. Shortly before daylight the revolting brigade with Deodoro da Fonseca at its head reached the park in front of the ministry of war. Orders issued by Ouro Preto and repeated by Maracajú to attack the rebellious troops fell upon deaf ears. When the prime minister reproached Floriano that such a refusal to obey orders hardly became a veteran of the Paraguayan War the adjutant general replied: "Yes, but there we were confronted by enemies; here we are all Brazilians."⁸⁷ Shortly afterwards Deodoro rode into the great court yard of the war office amid the *vivas* and acclamations of the troops. The revolt had triumphed.

The immediate results of the pronunciamento whose antecedents and character we have endeavored to sketch are well

⁸⁶ In two open letters published respectively in the *Jornal do Commercio* of January 14, 1890, and in the *Gazeta de Noticias* of March 23, 1890, the minister of war challenges this statement of Ouro Preto and accuses him of other inaccuracies. The reply of the prime minister (*Advento da Dictadura Militar*, p. 47 ff.) seems to the present writer to be conclusive.

⁸⁷ Ouro Preto, p. 66. Apologists for the pronunciamento of November 15 have cited this reply of Floriano as reflecting credit both on himself and the cause he represented. It is to be noted that on this theory every constituted government should cross its arms and abdicate as soon as it is confronted by rebellious troops. Floriano's own actions when, as chief executive, he was called upon to put down the Revolt of 1893 were hardly consonant with this theory. Not only was the resistance by the government troops of the most sanguinary character but after the revolt was entirely crushed many of the revolutionists were shot.

known. The emperor, summoned by telegraph from his summer residence at Petropolis, made futile efforts on the afternoon of the 15th to form a new cabinet. But even while these deliberations were taking place at the Boa Vista palace the Republic was proclaimed at the Municipality and the provisional government was organized with Deodoro da Fonseca as its chief and Benjamin Constant as minister of war. At the same time troops were thrown about the palace and the emperor and his family made prisoners. On the 16th, Deodoro formally notified Dom Pedro of his deposition, and banishment from the country within a space of twenty-four hours. The reply of the aged emperor may be quoted:

In view of the representation delivered to me to-day at three o'clock in the afternoon, I resolve, yielding to the force of circumstances, to depart with all my family for Europe to-morrow leaving this country beloved by us all and to which I have striven to give constant proofs of deepseated devotion during almost half a century when I filled the position of chief of the state. In departing therefore I with all my family shall always retain the most tender remembrances of Brazil and offer ardent prayers for her greatness and prosperity.

Before daylight on the morning of November 17, the imperial family was forced to embark on the *Alagoas*, which under convoy of a Brazilian man-of-war set sail directly for Europe. The emperor, already in failing health, died less than two years later in Paris, at the modest Hotel Bedford.

The proximate cause of the collapse of the imperial regime was a barrack-room conspiracy participated in by only a fraction of the Brazilian army whose grievances were skillfully exploited by a small group of determined men bent on the establishment of the Republic. The ultimate cause, as we have endeavored to show, was the slow crumbling of the foundations on which the stability of the Empire depended. We have seen that the monarchy had gradually ceased to be identified with the nation in the minds of the majority of the Brazilians. It had become a thing apart, encompassed with a growing isolation, an object of respect but incapable of arousing, save in a small restricted class, any feeling of self-sacrifice or devotion.

Yet the Brazilian people as a whole had neither part nor lot in the Revolution of 1889. Utterly fallacious is the view, assiduously fostered by certain apologists of the revolt, that the overthrow of the Empire represented a great popular reaction against an intolerable despotism. The rejoicings with which the advent of the Republic was hailed were shortlived and in many cases artificial. The populace at large, after the first exuberance had cooled, was almost completely apathetic and regarded the new regime with a mixture of indifference and cynicism. The true character of the revolution was candidly admitted by one of the leading republican propagandists, Aristides Lobo, minister of the interior under the Provisional Government. "I should like to call November 15 the first day of the Republic," he wrote, "but unhappily I cannot do so. What has taken place is one step—perhaps not even that—towards the advent of a great era. What has been done may mean much if the men who are about to assume power possess judgment, patriotism, and a sincere love of liberty. But at present the stamp of the new government is purely that of the military. This is logical. The work was theirs and theirs alone, for the collaboration of the civilian element was almost *nil*. And the people stood by stupefied,⁸⁸ dumb-founded, without an inkling of what it all meant. Many honestly believed they were beholding a parade."⁸⁹

Whatever may be the verdict of history on the motives and ideals behind the Revolution of 1889 it is even now reasonably clear that sooner or later the coming of the Republic was inevitable. The Empire touching elbows so to speak with all but one of the Republics of South America was inexorably fated to become more and more of an anachronism. Yet he would be quite wanting in historical perspective who with his eyes fixed only on the remarkable progress and achievements of the Republic would ignore or minimize the beneficent rôle which the Empire played in the national evolution of Brazil. Thanks in large part to the ability, patriotism, and rugged honesty of Dom Pedro II. the monarchy rendered the nation inestimable

⁸⁸ The Portuguese is much stronger: "*O povo assistiu bestialisado.*"

⁸⁹ *Diario Popular de São Paulo*, November 18, 1889.

services. It supplied the cohesive force which prevented Brazil from falling a prey to anarchy and possible dismemberment. Under its aegis Brazil took her place among the most liberal and enlightened countries of Hispanic America. A half century of almost unbroken internal peace made possible a material prosperity which until the spectacular rise of Argentina was unique in South America. Through its intervention in the Platine Republics to aid in the overthrow of the odious tyranny of Rosas and López the Empire won for itself the political preponderance of the continent. Yet after all perhaps the greatest service rendered by the Empire was to afford the Brazilian people, decade after decade, a large and fruitful apprenticeship in the practice of self-government within the spacious confines of a liberal constitutional monarchy. Thus were laid, solid and enduring, the foundations on which the success and prosperity of the Republic had ultimately to depend.⁹⁰

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

⁹⁰ As an evidence of the respect of the Brazilian people for the memory of their last emperor it may be noted that on the initiative of President Pessoa the Brazilian government has just decreed the transfer of the mortal remains of Dom Pedro and the empress from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. Their final resting place will be in the cathedral of Petropolis.

JOSEPH LANCASTER, JAMES THOMSON, AND THE LANCASTERIAN SYSTEM OF MUTUAL INSTRU- TION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HISPANIC AMERICA

I. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century may be described as a period of mental squalor on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the United States of America the foundations were being laid of some of our oldest universities—as Yale, in 1701, and Princeton in 1746—but the country was yet new and but slight efforts had been made toward the generalization of public instruction outside of the largest centers of population. The means of communication among the different colonies, or states, as they became after the American Revolution, were few and inferior. No community of interests in the public intellectual weal had as yet been aroused. The Revolution and the consequent upheaval of society, incident to the formation of a new government, absorbed the energies of the people during the last quarter of a century and the needs of instruction were, for the time, eclipsed. Even the schools and colleges which had been established were generally broken up and many were unable to reassemble their students when peace had been declared and the new constitution adopted.

In England the century was one of intellectual stagnation. The ancient universities still ministered to the needs of a certain class of society, and the philosophers of the time discussed very learnedly the problems related to education as viewed from their peculiar standpoint. Yet these discussions had to do with theory rather than practice, and no one was found who was capable of applying the philosophical doctrines to a practical solution of the distressing problems of the time. As in France, so in England there was a rising tendency and an increasing desire to replace

the monastic and ultramontane education, and to initiate the children of the schools into the study of common and ordinary affairs, of all those subjects which form the conduct of life and the basis of civil society.

The results of this sterile and insipid teaching of the period have been well summed up by a writer of the time. He says:

Most young men know neither the world which they inhabit, the earth which nourishes them, the men who supply their needs, the animals which serve them, nor the workmen and the citizens whom they employ. They do not have even a desire for this kind of knowledge. No advantage is taken of their natural curiosity for the purpose of increasing it. They know not how to admire neither the wonders of nature nor the prodigies of the arts.

Yet, in spite of these conditions, which were recognized and deplored by many thinkers of the day, practical efforts to better the grade of instruction given were but few and sporadic and the children of the proletariat, in particular, received but the scantiest of attention. Instruction, even when given them, was limited to the rudiments of but two or three branches of study and was given under conditions that could not have inspired the pupil to intellectual effort on his own behalf.

A number of "Charity Schools" provided gratuitous instruction for the children of the very poor, but the greater number of schools which pretended to minister to the needs of the children of the working classes were the results of private enterprise. These were of the most meager equipment and would not be tolerated today in any civilized nation, because of their unsanitary, not to say unpedagogical, standards. Those who set up such schools were generally the physically incapacitated of the community who could not, otherwise, gain a livelihood. The lack of pedagogical preparation, or even of intellectual ability, was not, in the mind of the community, a bar to the establishing of a school; and this fact, more than any other, determines the extreme intellectual poverty of the period.

Crabbe, writing in 1780, as quoted by Fitch in his *"Educational Aims and Methods,"* has given us the following vivid description of one of the so-called "Dame Schools" of the time. He says:

Where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits
And awes some thirty infants as she knits.
Her room is small, they can not widely stray;
Her threshold high, they can not run away.
Though deaf, she sees the rebel hearers shout;
Though lame, her white rod nimbly walks about.
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
And to her gown the sturdiest rogues can pin.
Aided by these, and spells and tell-tale birds,
Her power they dread and reverence her words.

The same writer gives a description of a Boys' School, of the same period, which is illuminating as to methods and general atmosphere. Evidently the picture is taken from life, and is as follows:

Poor Reuben Dixon has the noisiest school
Of ragged lads that ever bowed to rule,
Low in his price,—the men who heave our coals
And clean our causeways send him boys in shoals.
To see poor Reuben, with his fry, beside
Their half-checked rudeness and his half-scorned pride;
Their room,—the sty in which the assembly meet
In the close lane behind the Northgate street;
To observe his vain efforts to keep the peace,
Till tolls the bell and strife and trouble cease,
Calls for our praise. His lot our praise deserves,
But not our pity. Reuben has no nerves.
Mid noise and dirt and stench and play and prate,
He calmly cuts the pen or views the slate.

In Hispanic America, or all that part of the western continent not included within the present bounds of the United States and Canada, education was in an even more discouraging condition. The universities founded by the representatives of the Spanish crown were in the hands of the clergy and the education given within their halls was monastic and medieval, given according to methods prescribed by the Church in the Old World. It was dogmatic, and its object was to make men submissive to monarchic rule in Church and State. There was no

liberty of thought, no free study of history, no practical curricula. To quote another writer:

The instruction was of a pronounced theological character. The object of the universities was to graduate a creole clergy who should keep the principle of the divine right of kings alive and strong in the colonies.

It was not until the opening years of the nineteenth century that the old regime received a rude awakening and by virtue of the revolution against Spain, the creole or common people came to have some voice in the government and the right to demand more and better education for their children. San Martín, Bolívar, O'Higgins, Artigas, and a host of less known leaders were the heralds of the new democracy and it was largely through their help and sympathy that the distressing conditions of the preceding century gave place to an era of progress and it became possible to undertake the education and social uplift of the youth of the hitherto submerged classes.

The principal liberators of Spanish America, as will be seen hereafter, were liberal in sentiment and recognized the urgent need of bettering the condition of the masses through the introduction of free schools and obligatory attendance on their sessions. But the times were troublous and, even after a republican form of government had been established, public instruction remained in a position of secondary importance. Even in this twentieth century, old educational conditions have not been entirely effaced and a free and compulsory system of instruction for the masses has not been universally enforced. The seventy-five per cent of illiterates in Hispanic America considered as a whole speaks eloquently and pitifully of the failure of the mother countries in the matter of education and of the weakness of the republican governments which have in general failed to rise to the height of their opportunities and introduce modern conditions which shall provide the children with at least the rudiments of education.

II. JOSEPH LANCASTER, THE MAN AND HIS WORK

It was in the midst of the distressing period of intellectual poverty noted above that the world had its first glimpse of Joseph Lancaster who was to become the founder of one of the best-known systems of monitorial or mutual instruction of which there is any record in history.

Joseph Lancaster was born in London, in 1778, of the proverbially "poor but pious parents", and his heart was early filled with a desire for service. He was interested, especially, in the education and moral uplift of the poor children who surrounded him, and, while yet a boy, began to gather them together for free instruction. He himself says:

It was my early wish to spend my life to the glory of Him who gave it, and in promoting the happiness of my fellowmen. With this view, I looked forward, at the age of sixteen, to entering the dissenting ministry. But it pleased God to favour me with such a different view of things that I became a frequenter of the religious meetings of the Society of Christians called Quakers, and, ultimately, a member of that Society.

In this connection, he fails to record for our information that, for reasons that must have been satisfactory to them, the members of this same sect afterward expelled him from their membership. Other writers have informed us that such action was taken in view of certain weaknesses of character which were to appear in his later life. Yet, in spite of these defects of character and the fact of his excommunication, he honored the sect as few of its members have done.

At the very close of the century, when just twenty years of age, he made his first attempt at public instruction. A large room was secured for the purpose and he then made the following unusual announcement:

All that will may send their children and have them educated freely; and those who do not wish to have education for nothing may pay for it if they please.

As a result of this extraordinary method of advertising, within a year he found himself surrounded by a thousand children.

"They come to me for education", he said, "like flocks of sheep". Success in his undertaking came faster than he was prepared to meet it, and the burden became almost too heavy for his untried shoulders.

Very soon, however, through the attraction of numbers, some of the most prominent men of the day became interested in his work and they, in turn, enlisted the interest and sympathy of the king, then George III. His interview with the monarch merits full reproduction, since it marks the turning point in Lancaster's career and gave to the Lancasterian system that distinct imprint which makes it worthy of the special consideration of Christian educators of today. This was as follows:

The king:

Lancaster, I have sent for you to give me an account of your system of education, which, I hear, is meeting with opposition. One master teach five hundred pupils at one time? How do you keep them in order?

Lancaster:

Please your majesty, by the same principle thy Majesty's army is kept in order; by the word of command.

The king:

Good, good. It does not require an aged general to give a command. One of younger years can do it.

Lancaster then proceeded to explain his use of monitors and again the king assented and said, "Good". At the conclusion of the interview the king said:

Lancaster, I highly approve of your system and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible. I will do anything you wish to promote this object.

Lancaster:

Please thy Majesty, if the system meets thy approbation, I can go through the country and lecture on the system, and I have no doubt but in a few months I shall be able to give thy Majesty an account where ten thousand poor children are being educated and some of my youths instructing them.

The king:

Lancaster, I will subscribe one hundred pounds sterling annually and,—addressing the Queen,—you shall subscribe fifty pounds, Charlotte, and the princesses twenty-five pounds each. You can have the money immediately.

In accordance with this plan, Lancaster at once set about the giving of lectures and the collection of money, and his report for 1810 states that he lectured sixty-seven times during the year to almost twenty-five thousand hearers, that the subscriptions amounted to a total of over three thousand pounds sterling, and that fifty new schools were opened with over fourteen thousand children. This unusual success may be said to have been the cause of the downfall of Lancaster. His head, which had never been strong, was completely turned by the attention shown him by members of the royal house and the influential men of the day, and the possession of so much money by one who had never handled other than small sums soon proved his ruin. He fell into debt, and was even thrown into prison on this charge. He became extravagant, impatient of control, and soon proved himself incapable of working with other people. He was finally compelled to close his schools in London, but the "British and Foreign School Society", which had been organized for the purpose, took charge of them, Lancaster himself went to Ireland where he again met with almost phenomenal success for a time. Here again he soon fell into the same difficulties which he had experienced in London and was finally declared bankrupt and his schools closed.

While his system had been at the height of its popularity and usefulness in London, representatives from both North and South America studied his schools and, as a result, similar institutions were established in the principal centers of the United States and South America.

After his failure in Ireland Lancaster decided to emigrate to the New World and, accordingly, went first to Caracas, Venezuela,¹ where he remained for a short time engaged in the development of the schools which had already been established on his

¹ Then a part of Colombia, but formed into a separate republic in 1845, when its independence was recognized by Spain.

system. Thence he went to the West Indies and finally reached New York, where he made his headquarters.

The "Society for the Establishment of a Free School", of New York City, after studying the methods in use in other countries, decided to adopt that of Lancaster, and the "Charity Schools" of Philadelphia did the same. The monitorial system then spread through practically all the eastern states, as far south as Georgia, and as far west as Ohio. Lancaster in person assisted in the work of the schools of New York City, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, and his system was generally adopted in the high schools and academies of the region. The state systems of Maryland and Indiana, which were converted into high schools after the civil war, were originally organized on this basis, and training schools for teachers on the Lancasterian basis also became common.

But this system was, in a sense, a mere makeshift and as soon as the country became sufficiently prosperous to make more generous provision for its educational needs, it fell into disuse and by the middle of the century had been practically abandoned. Its scholastic methods gradually gave way to the more modern and more philosophical conceptions of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, but not until it had done a great good to the country in the training of the children of the poor.²

Lancaster also went as far north as Montreal, Canada, and succeeded in establishing a number of schools in the Dominion. But his eccentricities of character soon caused him to lose the confidence and support of all with whom he was associated and he was continually obliged to move on to new surroundings. He finally sank into extreme poverty and became a pensioner on the charity of a number of his old friends who remained faithful in spite of his vagaries and failures. He died in New York in 1838 from a street accident.

Of him, no less an authority than the conservative "Edinburgh Review" said:

Lancaster devised a system and brought it very near perfection, by which education could be placed within the reach of the poorest. Alge-

² See Graves's *History of Education*, p. 242.

bra and Geometry, even the sublime theorems of Newton and La Place, may be taught by this method. . . . We do not hesitate to say that it is applicable, or may soon be applied, to the whole circle of human knowledge.

And DeWitt Clinton, President of the "Free School Society of New York City", at the opening of a new free school, in 1806, had said:

I recognize in Lancaster the benefactor of the human race. I consider his system as creating a new era in education.

In spite of a seeming failure, Joseph Lancaster made a deep impression on his own times and set in motion currents of thought and educational reform which reached many distant lands. If his character was defective, it must also be remembered that he had rare gifts which have seldom been equalled among those who have unreservedly dedicated their talents to the education of the young.

III. THE LANCASTERIAN METHOD

A somewhat more detailed description of the methods employed by Joseph Lancaster seems necessary to a full understanding of its remarkable influence on the educational movements of the century in which he lived and its claim to be perpetuated in history. As already seen, his ambition was to educate the children of the very poor. Those whose parents or guardians could not pay were received on equal terms with those who were able to make a small monthly contribution toward the expenses of the school.

The equipment of a Lancasterian school was the most meager. A large rented room sufficed for the number of children who could crowd into it, and the material helps to teaching were the scantiest. Tables in the center of the room and covered with sand served for the classes in writing and arithmetic, while loose leaves torn from a book and passed from hand to hand served for the reading lesson. In view of the king's expressed desire that the children should be taught to read the Bible, selections from this Book were generally used for the lessons in reading,

and Lancaster did not fail to make a practical application, too, of the moral lessons thus presented to the pupils. At the head of each table sat a monitor, with the materials for teaching before him, while the head monitors, three or four in number, hovered about the chair of the master, at one end of the room, anxious and ready to carry out his commands.

The children began their work at ten o'clock in the morning, but at half past eight the master met the monitors and gave them the instruction which they, in turn, were to pass on to the pupils. The master from his elevated seat directed the movements of the children by means of a whistle. At a given signal the different groups, each with a monitor at its head, would march from one position to another, as necessity arose for a change of occupation. Inasmuch as this marching and counter-marching was carried on in such small space, the Lancasterian school has often been compared to a man-of-war. The discipline was strictly military and the monitors awaited and executed the orders of the master with as great eagerness and desire for approbation as could be expected of a subaltern officer.

There were different grades of monitors, and to each was given the teaching of that particular branch of study in which he excelled. They also accompanied the children from their homes to the school and again restored them to their parents, thus avoiding loitering in the streets, while they served, at the same time, as a link between the school and the home. Very small children were carefully looked after and it was the continuous duty of the monitors to counsel their pupils on points of morals and conduct.

Corporal punishment was strictly forbidden—a distinct departure from the customs of the times. But the expedients devised for the purpose of punishment, in order to avoid the necessity of striking the child, were too often puerile and, possibly, more mischievous, in the end, than the then prevalent practice of flogging. Refractory pupils were often thrust into a cage and slung up into the roof of the schoolroom by means of a system of pulleys. Others were obliged to kneel or assume other postures which excited the ridicule of their companions. The appeal

was made to the sense of shame, only, and such punishments must have hardened some of the coarser children and wounded to the quick many others whose sensibilities were more refined and sensitive.

The instruction given was, necessarily, superficial and was limited to the merest rudiments of the primary branches. Yet, by dint of constant and prolonged repetition, even the dullest made some progress and the great majority learned to read and write and to solve the simpler problems of arithmetic, and to do these few things well.

A yet greater benefit to the unfortunate children of the slums was their rescue from the lives of squalor and evil surroundings for a few hours each day, and their being brought under a kindly discipline and thrown into cheerful association with hundreds of other pupils of their own age. They thus forgot their hunger and lack of proper clothing and secured freedom from parental authority and influence which, it is very probable, were not always helpful.

General conclusions

The Lancasterian system, like all others of its kind, was defective in many respects, even as it excelled in others. In spite of its deficiencies, it awakened a widespread interest in the education of the children of the very poor and the effect of the movement which had its beginning in the influence of this system may be noted in most European countries of today. Had it taken deeper root in the soil of Hispanic America, it is probable that the nations of this part of the western continent would not now have to report that so large a proportion of their population can neither read nor write.

Among the defects of the system, the following may be noted:

1. The monitors, who gave most of the instruction, were young and had received but the scantiest preparation for their work. They came from the same social strata that provided the children for the schools—generally the poorest of the working classes—had the same social deficiencies that were to be noted in the character of their small charges, and possessed no education

or culture other than that which they had received in the same school of which they were to become monitors. Moreover, although they might be chosen with the greatest care and given all preparation possible under the practice of the system, it could not be expected that they would have that natural gift for teaching which so distinguished the founder of the system, even from his earliest youth. In Hispanic America, in particular, there was at that time a dearth of suitable material from which to develop efficient monitors, due to the lack of previous instruction in the new communities and the appalling prevalence of analphabetism. To this cause, more than to any other, may be attributed the evanescent influence of the Lancasterian schools of Hispanic America.

2. Although special classes were formed for the instruction of the monitors, the hours were insufficient and the teaching inadequate. Joseph Lancaster, through the genius of his personality, as well as the contagion of his enthusiasm and his unique methods of imparting knowledge, could do much toward the effective preparation of those who were to act as his assistants. But those who endeavored to walk in his footsteps had not the same gifts and could not produce the same results. The monitors learned the mechanism of their office but often without understanding what was to be imparted to others.

3. The giving to young boys an authority beyond their years and attainments must have produced the inevitable result in the development of their own character. They would become domineering and despotic, and would cultivate a certain pride and aloofness which would militate against their success as teachers of children.

4. The attendance of these schools was always large. Hundreds of children were sometimes gathered in a single room. With but one master in charge of this number of pupils, he could not exert that authority nor exercise that discipline which would be necessary, especially among the small children of the poor in whose homes, very often, all discipline had been lacking. Consequently, even with the assistance of monitors, there would be lacking that personal touch between master and pupil which is so essential in all true education.

5. The system was largely military and much time was lost from instruction in the giving and carrying out of commands. No change of occupation or position could be made by a class without the necessary military order, and the marching and evolutions consumed a great deal of time that should have been given to the work of instruction or to study. Furthermore, these exercises were obligatory for all and could not fail to work harm among those who were physically undeveloped or who suffered from weakness or illness due to insufficient nourishment. The smaller and weaker among the pupils would find the military drill a detriment rather than a help, especially when compelled to undergo it in company with older and stronger pupils.

6. The practice of giving badges, offices, and rewards, which was largely developed in the Lancasterian system, tended to develop a utilitarian spirit among the pupils. This would be unfortunate in any school. Moreover, the prizes were given indiscriminately and for acts of insignificant importance. Right was practiced, not because it was right but in order to receive a reward. Such conduct could be but superficial and such teaching could not reach the springs of real character.

7. The crowning pedagogical defect of the system was its inelasticity, its mechanical, repetitious methods, and its lack of a proper psychological basis. It was economical and served admirably the educational needs of a country in the first stages of its intellectual and commercial development. But as soon as it was possible to make greater appropriations for the work of schools, the defects and shortcomings of the Lancasterian system became glaringly apparent and its use was soon discontinued.

The advantages of the system may be summed up, as follows:

1. Owing to the interest awakened by it in the education of poor children, and its phenomenal success in England, primary instruction received a decided impulse in Great Britain and Europe, and elementary schools were established in great numbers. This stimulus persists even now in some countries, and makes possible the unusually favorable showing in the statistics of primary instruction, especially if compared with the countries of Hispanic America where the system did not take deep root.

2. The fact that one master could control such a considerable number of pupils, through his monitors, made it possible to multiply the number of schools. From the standpoint of economy, the system of mutual instruction is vastly superior to that in which individual instruction is given by the master.

3. The system demonstrated the truth of two fundamental principles in pedagogy—*a*) That children should be grouped in their classes according to their knowledge, and not according to age, size, or the time already spent in the school. *b*) That simultaneous or group teaching is that which is best adapted to elementary schools, since it gives the stimulus of example and competition and creates a certain degree of animation in the class.

4. One of the greatest recommendations of the system was its absolute freedom from sectarian bias or narrowness. It merely insisted on the use of the Bible as a text-book in the classes of reading, but did not permit religious discussions or comparisons. In this respect it was superior to similar systems of the time—as that of Bell, which was distinctly Anglican—and gained in the estimation of the public and in the efficiency of the work done.

5. Corporal punishment was forbidden. This placed the schools of this system in vivid contrast with other schools of the day, including many of our own century. Force of character, rather than force of arm, was the source of control on the part of the monitor or of the master in the schools of Joseph Lancaster; and, although other punishments, as we have seen, were scarcely less reprehensible, some advance was made in the fact that no one was allowed to strike a pupil.

IV. JAMES THOMSON AND HIS TWO SOCIETIES

“The British and Foreign School Society” took upon itself not only the responsibility in England of the work of the school methods initiated by Lancaster, but, cognizant of the great need for such instruction in other countries, especially in Hispanic America, decided to send its representatives to the western

continent for the purpose of establishing schools. In view of the special trend given the instruction in all schools under this system, because of the expressed desire of the king that every pupil should be taught to read the Bible, it is not strange that the above named society should unite its efforts with those of the "British and Foreign Bible Society", and that these two societies should delegate their representation to one and the same man.

James Thomson, a Scotchman, was the man chosen to represent them in Hispanic America, and the success of the Lancastrian system in gaining a foothold among the Spanish speaking nations of the New World was due to him, rather than to the one whose name it bears. Of the man, before he undertook his work in Hispanic America, but little is known. His nationality would suggest that he was a Presbyterian, but of this there seems to be no record. It is also supposed that in addition to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, given him in recognition of his work, he had previously received that of Doctor in Medicine. His own reticence concerning himself, and his complete disregard of personal danger or personal ambition, have thrown a veil over his life before he began the work which has made him worthy a place in history, and there are few sources from which to draw information, other than his own Letters.

The present president of the University of Chile, in a volume which is largely a translation of Thomson's Letters, entitled *The Lancastrian System in Chile and other Countries of South America*,³ condemns him in unmeasured terms as a hypocrite, since he believes that he endeavored to introduce the Lancastrian system only as a blind to his real work which was the introduction of the Bible into countries that were then, as now, Roman Catholic. In this book it is stated:

To the sound of official trumpets, Thomson founded school and societies in Santiago. How certain of our leading men would have been horrified had they been told that the garments of the schoolmaster concealed a Protestant missionary! And Thomson did not limit his activities to making the Bible known under the form of certain pas-

³ Domingo Amunátegui Solar, *El Sistema de Lancaster en Chile y en otros países sud-americanos*.

sages in the books which were composed by him for use in the schools. He was, in addition, one of the first among us who insisted on popularizing the reading of the Bible as a whole. And those fervent Catholics, those venerable patriots, gave the use of their names to lend prestige to the work of a heretic!

Summing up the charge against Thomson, as regards his practice of hypocrisy, this author comes to the following conclusions:

The double-faced methods employed by Thomson to diffuse the knowledge of the Bible are, without a doubt, inexcusable; but, in reverence to his memory it must be said that this is the usual method of procedure employed by all missionaries, in general The opinions of Thomson about the war and the movement toward independence, in general, as well as in regard to certain phases of this movement, reveal a man who is sensible and perspicacious In a word, when he is not talking about the Bible and the ways of making it known, his observations are always happy. He is something like Don Quijote, whom questions of chivalry made mad, but who thought very reasonably along other lines.

Thomson relates his experiences as Agent of the two Societies in South America in a naïve volume of letters written from different points which he touched on his travels and published under the title *Letters on the Moral and Religious State of South America, written during a residence of nearly seven years in Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru, and Colombia*.⁴ In the preface to this little volume, which is now out of print and of which but a very few copies are known to exist, he says:

I am now about to return to that quarter of the world, and trust that the same gracious hand which protected me and guided me in my former wanderings there, will still conduct me and will enable me to sow seed which may spring up to eternal life. Ten days after this date I embark for Mexico, as the Agent of the "*British and Foreign Bible Society*." I go fraught with a sacred treasure, with some thousands of copies of the Holy Scriptures. Besides circulating these, which are nearly all in the Spanish language, I am commissioned to procure translations of the Scriptures into the native languages of that country, and which are still spoken by some millions of its inhabitants.

⁴ Published by James Nisbet, 21 Berners Street, London, 1827.

The success which he had in introducing the Lancasterian schools and the Bible into South America may best be told by following him, by means of his own letters, as well as by references taken from state and other documents, as he journeyed through the continent. Beginning the intellectual and spiritual conquest of South America in the city of Buenos Aires, as José de San Martín, some six years before, had begun the struggle for political liberty, he worked his way westward and then northward, met with an enthusiastic reception from the governments of all the countries visited, and, finally, having traversed the continent from east to west and from south to north, at a time when travel was both difficult and dangerous, he returned to his own land under the mistaken conviction that he had sown seed which would blossom into a bounteous harvest.

His letters give us not only a clear insight into the religious conditions of the time, but, in addition, throw much light on the social and political movements of the period and on the character of the most famous leaders in the liberation of the continent from the power of the Spanish monarch.

In this study we are to notice, especially, his work as the representative of "The British and Foreign School Society", although it is true that he combined this work with that of the Bible Society to such a degree that it is difficult to separate them. The distinguished president of the University of Chile, to whose book reference has already been made, says:

It may seem strange that the two societies should commission one man for work in seemingly diverse occupations. But, if we take into account the fact that the Lancasterian schools used the Bible as a text in the classes for reading, it will the more readily be understood how one person could attend to the interests of both societies. In the light of modern principles, this was the grave defect of the Lancasterian system. The books which compose the Holy Scriptures, are not adapted to the intelligence of a child, either as regards the material which is treated in them nor the age in which they were written. Their adoption, however, is easily explained. It must not be forgotten that the Lancasterian system had its origin in a Protestant country, in which the Bible is the daily bread of the spirit. In England, the prin-

cial passages are read daily, in the church by the pastor and in the home by the head of the family. Furthermore, at that time school pedagogy was but slightly developed and all systems of teaching had their faults. For example, it was very common to teach the children to read from some book of mysticism But the truth is that the Statutes of God, as Thomson calls them, were completely inadequate as a text for reading.

James Thomson reached Buenos Aires on the sixth of October, 1818, and remained in that city and vicinity until about the end of May, 1821. In a work on the *History of Primary Instruction in the Argentine Republic*, we find the following reference to the interest created by the arrival of this representative of a new system of education. The writer of the history says:

The schools from 1810 continued developing their program of studies, very quietly, with no other variation than the occasional change of a teacher, etc., until, at the end of the first decade of the emancipation, they were convulsed by a revolution: the Lancasterian system had reached our shores!

In the same work there are to be found, also, interesting historical references to the arrival of Thomson and the enthusiasm awakened by his efforts on behalf of the new system of education. It will be noted that a priest was chosen as secretary of the "Lancasterian School Society", thus showing how readily even the local Roman Catholic authorities accepted the new system and lent their aid to its adoption and generalization in the different countries which it touched. The following paragraphs are of special interest:

As soon as the Lancasterian system was established in England, and in view of its immediate success, it found itself obliged to enter into a struggle against the influence of the Anglican clergy which was in charge of the greater part of the schools of the country. The struggle was long and obstinate,—so much so that in 1820, the Quaker Lancaster was obliged to emigrate to South America. He established himself in Colombia⁵ where, in the prosecution of his apostolate, he began to work for the establishment of the schools according to his

⁵ Now Venezuela.

system. . . . Inasmuch as the news of this system extended throughout the civilized world, Buenos Aires had also learned of it but could not put it into practice through the lack of some one who could organize it according to the rules laid down by the founder.

In 1818 the Lancasterian Society designated one of its members, Mr. James Thomson, to visit these countries and set forth the excellencies of the method. Thomson reached Buenos Aires in the same year and met with a chilling reception. But he set to work with his usual enthusiasm and efficiency. On his initiative, a Society was formed for the support of the schools which might be founded and father Bartholomew Muñoz was chosen as its Secretary.

The first meetings were held in the convent of St. Francis. A school for girls was soon founded and came to have an attendance of two hundred and fifty pupils. . . .

Mr. Thomson carried on two classes of propaganda with equal enthusiasm,—the Lancasterian School System and the diffusion of the Bible. His first sale of Bibles reached a total of four hundred copies in 1820. Then he continued his journeys to Montevideo, Patagonia, San Juan, Chile, Peru, Colombia, etc., in the interests of the sale and explanation of the Bible.

However, he did more for schools than for the diffusion of the Bible, in view of the strength of the Roman Catholic Church and the social condition of the countries visited.

In his journeys through South America, which lasted about seven years, Thomson showed himself capable of overcoming obstacles which were almost insurmountable and gave proofs of an energy that is not often seen and that is capable of confronting all trials.

During the period of his stay in Buenos Aires he was so fortunate as to enlist the sympathy and active help of Don Bernardino Rivadavia, who was then an official of the government and, as always, deeply interested in all matters of education. As showing the active participation of this statesman in establishing the Lancasterian system in Argentina, the following decree is copied from the *National Register* of 1823 (folio 1658):

“Buenos Aires, February 24, 1823.

The government has decided and hereby decrees the following:

Article 1. The hospices of the Mercedarian friars, known as San Ramón de las Conchas, and the convent of San Pedro are hereby expropriated for the uses of education.

Article 2. In these centers there shall be educated the children of the towns and territories of the adjacent country districts.

Article 3. The Lancasterian Society, recently established in this country, shall be invited to take charge of the schools of the city and in the country.

Article 4. Said society shall draw up rules for teaching, which shall be submitted to the government for its approbation.

Article 5. Let this decree be transmitted to the proper authorities for putting it into effect and let it be published in the *Official Register*. (Signed) B. RIVADAVIA.

It is interesting to note also that Thomson was warmly supported by Camilo Henriquez, a friar who had been expelled from Chile for political reasons, but who afterward returned to his own country and became one of the most zealous defenders of the Lancasterian system of education in that country. Few names are more widely or more favorably known in the southern half of the continent, in matters of education, than those of Rivadavia and Henriquez, and it is to the credit of Thomson that he was able to enlist the sympathies of such distinguished citizens in his campaign. It was, no doubt, due to the friendly interest of men like Rivadavia that the first society for the extension of the work of the Lancasterian School Society was founded in Buenos Aires. The organization of this society is thus described in the *Ministerial Gazette*, under date of February, 1821, almost three years after the arrival of Thomson in Buenos Aires:

On Monday, the 5th of the present month, there was a general meeting of the Lancasterian Society for the purpose of revising the projected constitution. This was studied and approved and it was voted to send it, with the necessary explanations, to the Honorable Provincial Congress, soliciting its approbation by the body.

There then followed the election of the president, vice-president treasurer, secretary, and counsellors of the society for the present year. The approbation of congress is awaited in order to begin work which is dedicated to the advance of public education—a most worthy task. This is a work that has been neglected because of the thunder of wars and the repeated convulsions of society; but it is so noble, so necessary, that, should it be abandoned, it would be the same as to give up all hope of present and future happiness for the country.

During his residence in Buenos Aires, Thomson was able to found eight schools in that city, and within a few years the local Lancastrian Society reported that there were one hundred with a total matriculation of over five thousand children.

The movement spread to the provinces and a large number of schools were organized. One of these, which merits special attention, was established in Rio Negro, distant more than five hundred miles from Buenos Aires, in what was then a wild territory almost uninhabited by white men. An army officer who had been appointed governor of the district, had attended the Lancastrian school in Buenos Aires and knew something of the system, and, on his departure for his new post carried with him the materials necessary for opening a school. Thomson, in a comment on the conduct of this officer, says:

If all Governors, far and near, were to act in the same manner, we should soon see ignorance turned into knowledge, the world over.

One of the most interesting details of the establishing of the System in Buenos Aires is the step taken by the cabildo in order to secure a school for girls. To this end the following circular was issued:

The Honorable Cabildo Opens a Subscription for the Education of Girls according to the System of Lancaster.

The honorable cabildo, which has put forth every effort, for many years and by every means within its reach, to offer a thorough education to the children of the poor of the vicinity, has spent, in effect, great sums of money in sustaining many schools in different parts of the city, and even in the country districts.

Wishing to put these schools on the best footing possible, in order that instruction and education may be more rapid and efficacious, and, at the same time, more simple, it has been agreed to put all schools under the same plan of mutual instruction as given us by Mr. Lancaster, which, with general approbation, has been adopted in European countries.

To this end, the schools have now been placed under the direction of Mr. James Thomson, who understands the system thoroughly and who has been named general director of them all, both in the city and in the country districts.

The schools which the cabildo has maintained up to the present time are all for boys, and now it desires to establish one for girls under this same system of education.

It had been planned to set aside a sufficient sum of money for this worthy purpose, but the present state of the funds of the cabildo, which are practically exhausted, make it impossible to put into effect such a useful and beneficial resolution.

However, since the cabildo does not wish that the advantages to be gained from such an establishment be entirely lost, it most earnestly begs its fellow-citizens and, in particular, the worthy ladies of the community, that they be kind enough to contribute to the foundation of this useful institution by means of a voluntary subscription, for the collection of which Mr. Thomson himself will act among the foreign population, aided by the probate judge . . . and by the judge-protector of the poor.

The school or schools which will be established will be under the direction of Mr. Thomson, but, like the other schools for boys, also under the direct supervision of the cabildo.

The above appeal to the community for funds was signed in the office of the cabildo of Buenos Aires and there follows a list of twelve persons who had at once subscribed the sum of about one hundred and fifty pesos for the purpose set forth in the paper.

The provinces of Mendoza and San Juan, on the eastern slope of the Andes, were visited by Thomson, at the urgent request of their authorities. This journey was made from Chile, after he had gone to that country, and necessitated crossing the mountains which, even at the most favorable season of the year was no inconsiderable undertaking. Now the journey is made in a few hours, and in a comfortable train; but Thomson would have had to avail himself of the stage coach or mules, or, what is even more probable, walk a great part of the distance. It is characteristic of him that he makes no mention of the details of this journey. His interest in the work is so great that he enters into no description of the scenery nor of the dangers and difficulties that beset the way.

His first work in these provinces was the establishing of a girls' school, and this was followed by several schools for boys. A

branch of the school society was organized and a printing press loaned by the governor of the province of Mendoza for the purpose of publishing a small periodical in the interests of education. In San Juan, Thomson was fortunate in securing the friendship and help of the new governor who, as an evidence of his liberality, had proclaimed freedom of worship throughout his province. A North American, long resident in the city, also favored the establishment of the schools. A meeting was held in which great interest was manifested by the people, and, after providing the new schools with reading matter for the classes, Thomson returned to Chile.

While his headquarters were in Buenos Aires, Thomson visited the neighboring port of Montevideo, then included in Brazil which was under the control of Portugal. The governor of the city was absent at the time of his visit, but the principal clergyman became interested and promised to present the matter of the introduction of the system to the proper authorities. This he did with such good results that Thomson was requested to send a teacher to establish the first school. In a letter addressed to Thomson, this teacher tells of his reception and the introduction of his work, in the following words:

I was cordially received, not only by the Governor but also by the other magistrates. A great room in the Fort was set apart as a school. This room will hold two hundred children. The general gave orders that the carpenters and masons of the Government should arrange this room and I hope to inaugurate the school in about three weeks more. I am doing all possible to organize a School Society which will have our schools of this city and of the Provinces under its direction. I feel sure of being able to do this, for the members of the Government are very well disposed toward the movement.

In a report prepared by the government of the Republic of Uruguay for the International Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, that portion referring to the development of primary instruction contains the following reference to the school planted by Thomson almost a hundred years before:

During the revolutionary period which began in 1811, the public and private schools suffered from the results of the reigning anarchy, most

of them being closed while the remainder continued their work with the inevitable irregularity.

This state of affairs continued until José Artigas, head of the movement to liberate the colony from Spain, in an effort to repair the damage caused society by the lack of educational establishments, founded the "National School." He also authorized the opening of some schools which had been closed, but the Portuguese invasion of 1816 frustrated the noble designs of the Uruguayan deliverer. The patriots were defeated by the invaders during whose domination the "Lancasterian Society" was founded in Montevideo, with a view to extending primary education by the establishment of schools subjected to the system of mutual instruction which, at that time, was very popular in the most advanced countries of Europe.

This was the first evolution of the Uruguayan school, since the empirical and irrational means of teaching till then employed were substituted by better ones, although the mutual system undoubtedly has its defects. Its upholders may have been mistaken with respect to the success of this method of teaching, but its application was the result of a pedagogical plan, which was not the case when the schools were directed by religious orders and laymen who had not the necessary knowledge to appreciate the transcendental mission that was entrusted to them.

So encouraging were the results obtained by the Lancasterian Society that the patriots of the year 1825 adopted the scholastic reform instituted by the Portuguese and, with the hope of extending it throughout the country, decreed the foundation of a normal school. This school had as its special mission the preparation of teachers according to the Lancasterian doctrine. The foundation of primary schools in several of the interior towns was also ordered and Montevideo was endowed with two, one for boys and one for girls.

Children who had not been vaccinated were refused admittance, a Board of Inspectors was established, the use of certificates of aptitude and conduct was also inaugurated for the pupils who terminated their studies in the schools supported by the state, and, finally, a class for the study of Latin was included.

From the correspondence carried on at that time between the Minister of Chile in Buenos Aires and his government, it appears that the authorities of Uruguay made an attempt to secure the permanent services of Thomson himself to direct the schools

but recently organized. But the Chilean diplomat presented the attractions and needs of the west coast so convincingly that Thomson signed a contract, by the terms of which he was to give his services to Chile for one year in the establishing of schools and the training of monitors. In payment of these service he was to receive the sum of one hundred *pesos* a month, the *peso* at that time having at least the purchasing power of the dollar. He was also to receive two hundred *pesos* for the payment of his passage around the Horn, but, this amount was not to be paid until after his arrival in the country.

In his last letter written from Buenos Aires he gives an interesting description of the attitude of the people toward him and his work. He says:

I leave all my friends here on the best terms, and I leave the place, in many respects, with regret. I shall never forget all the kindness I have met with in this city, from the magistrates and from all classes with whom I have had intercourse. May God reward them.

When I gave in my resignation, I said that it was my intention to return here next Summer, to visit the schools, and to see how they were coming on. In the kindest manner I was requested not to forget my promise of returning. They were sorry, they said, that it was not in their power to reward me in a pecuniary way, from the lowness of their funds. They begged me to accept of their sincerest thanks for establishing the system of education in the country, from which they said they expected the happiest results in making education general among all classes of people; and they added that, as a mark of respect, they had requested the Government to confer on me the honour of citizenship, which was accordingly done.

The *Ministerial Gazette*, under date of May 30, 1821, contains the following note, in which the request was made in due form:

Most excellent Sir:

The interest with which Mr. James Thomson, on his arrival in these regions, set himself to establish in this country the system of Lancaster for the instruction of the youth; his assiduous dedication to this important establishment; the progress which it has made, due to his influence and skilled administration; the unselfishness with which he has given over a great part of his salary in order to provide a teacher and an

assistant; the generous spirit he has shown in helping to extend the System; these are all very helpful services which the cabildo has not been able to forget and they have aroused the gratitude of its members toward this distinguished foreigner and, even in the midst of its scarcity of funds, it has been ordered that Thomson be reimbursed the amounts which he has spent for the provision of a teacher and an assistant in the school.

This is but a slight demonstration, as compared with what has been saved and what the country has gained by the introduction and establishing of this magnificent system of education.

The services which Thomson has rendered this country ought to be considered as extraordinary, and he should be given a commensurate reward.

The cabildo finds no more adequate recompense than that of inscribing Thomson among the number of the citizens of the country and, to that end, approaches your Excellency with the request that he be given the title of citizen, and that he be requested to meet with the cabildo in order that the proper papers may be placed in his hands, manifesting, in this way, our gratitude and making it known that Buenos Aires knows how to appreciate merit and reward services which are rendered the nation. May God keep you many years. Buenos Aires, May 22, 1821.

In reply to this petition, the following action was taken by the government:

Buenos Aires, May 29, 1821.

The government, recognizing the interest and enthusiasm which Mr. James Thomson has shown in establishing the Lancasterian system of instruction in the primary schools of this city and, desiring to give an authentic testimony of the appreciation with which we look on cultured foreigners who are interested in the progress and prosperity of the country, this letter of naturalization is given, as solicited by the illustrious cabildo, to which body this decree will be transmitted together with the letter itself, in order that, in giving them into the hands of the interested party, it may express to him the deep sentiments and the profound consideration which, for the reasons given, he merits from the government.

Chile

The journey to Chile was made in the winter months, and in a sailing-vessel, around Cape Horn. Forty-four days were occupied in this journey which is now made by modern steamship in ten days, through the Straits of Magellan, or by train, across the Andes, in less than forty hours. In regard to his reception by the authorities of the government of Chile, he has the following to say in a letter written soon after his arrival in Santiago:

You know already that I was engaged to come here by this Government, and that my passage around the Cape was paid by the same. I therefore looked for a fair and open reception. I have not been disappointed;—or, rather, I should say that I have, for I have met with a reception beyond my expectation, I might say to my wish. I have been introduced to the Director and the Ministers of Government, all of whom express much desire for the speedy establishment of schools *throughout* Chile. We have the largest apartment in the University for a school-room. The joiners are busy fitting it up, and we only wait their finishing to begin operations.

He also quotes the following letter from the government to Don Manuel Salas, one of the leading citizens, as showing the zeal with which the supreme dictator, O'Higgins, proposed to aid the plan for the education of the children of Chile:

Mr. Thomson, who has been engaged to establish in this city the new system of mutual instruction, has already arrived in Valparaiso. His Excellency, the director, has a decided wish that public education may be general and is very anxious to give all possible aid to this establishment for elementary instruction, as preparatory to the higher branches. He has, for this reason, appointed you with full powers to forward this object, in conjunction with Mr. Thomson and the president of the Board of Public Education. You will, therefore, do all in your power to establish it as soon and as perfectly as possible. A copy of this order is to be sent to the president of Public Instruction and to Mr. Thomson.

Three Lancasterian schools were established in Santiago—the principal of which was for the training of teachers who were

to be sent to other parts of the country—one in Valparaiso, and another in Coquimbo. Thomson's contract, however, called for but one year of service and he was anxious to go north where he hoped to continue his work. General José de San Martín was then at the height of his power and had invited Thomson to go to Lima for the purpose of establishing schools. Consequently, it was necessary to obtain another teacher, and this was done through the Chilean legation in London. The choice fell on Mr. Anthony Eaton, who, it appears, knew both French and Spanish, as well as English. Due to political changes, and, especially, to the fact that he soon fell ill, the stay of Eaton in Chile was brief and it was not long until the suspicions of the clergy were aroused against the whole Lancasterian movement. This opposition of the Church was the deathknell of the movement.

The decision rendered by one Guzmán, a friar, relative to a proposition made by Thomson to bring artisans and agriculturists to Chile is an interesting document. This proposition was referred to the ecclesiastical commission, in conformity with the law of that time, and the above mentioned friar, in the name of the commission made the following report:

A memorial presented by Mr. James Thomson, in which he proposes to the supreme government to bring to Chile excellent foreign artisans and farmers, is that which gives rise to the present discussion.

Since it is not incumbent on our commission to discuss the utility of said proposition, I will limit myself to an examination from the religious standpoint for the purpose of determining whether or not such a procedure would be consonant with the interests of the religion of the state, which is the chief concern of this commission.

It is a terrible thing for one who is a patriot by nature and a Christian by profession to give a decision in which the interests of the country and religion seem to be in conflict! And, who would not say, at first thought, that this offer ought to be accepted and that a thousand thanks ought to be given to the author for his kindness and philanthropy? To bring people to a country which is almost desert, and which is in need of population, of arms to cultivate its fertile fields, of skilled labor to utilize its raw materials, and of men who are fitted to

establish commerce, both foreign and domestic, is all that our young republic could desire and that is what the proposition seems to represent.

But, if we analyze it, in a religious sense, as is fitting in a Catholic state, as is ours, we find not a few difficulties to be overcome before we admit the proposition.

These foreigners, whom it is proposed to bring to our republic, may be Catholic Christians. In that case, there is not the slightest objection to receiving them and to allow as many to come, with their families, as the government wishes, and to establish themselves in the country.

But, they may be Protestants and of diverse religions and sects, as appears to be indicated in the proposition. It is equally true that they may be married or single, transient or permanent, and may bring with them their religion or worship and have their meetings and congregations to hold worship according to their own rites and liturgy. These are the great difficulties which are concealed or involved in the proposition and which must be cleared up and overcome before the plan can be considered.

As was to be expected, in view of this stand of the chief of the ecclesiastical commission, Thomson's plan was condemned as contrary to religious unity in the country and was rejected by the government. Continuing, the report states:

It would not be prudent to receive these devouring vipers (the foreigners who are not Roman Catholics) into the bosom of a state which desires to conserve pure, clean, and inviolable the religion which it professes. The coming to Chile of foreign families would ruin the Catholic religion.

One such who pretends to live here should content himself with the tolerance or civil permission which the government has granted to all foreigners to carry on business, free from molestation in regard to their morals and dogmas, provided they do not preach them nor otherwise interfere in religious matters; for, in such case, they should be expelled from the republic as disturbers of the peace, public order, and tranquillity.

Quite different was the attitude of Director General O'Higgins toward the establishing of the Lancasterian school system. His decree, which has a special historic interest, was as follows:

The Lancasterian system of mutual instruction, now introduced in most parts of the civilized world, and to which many places already

owe an improvement in their habits, has been established among us and in such a manner as gives promise of beneficial results. The propagation of this system holds out the surest means of extirpating those principles formed among us in times of darkness. The government has resolved to protect this establishment zealously and, as the best way of fulfilling its intentions, has resolved to unite with it in this object those persons who have the same sentiments on the subject and who, at the same time, possess that activity, zeal, and energy which this important matter demands.

In all places this system of instruction prospers and extends itself under the fostering care of societies. This circumstance at once determines me to follow the example thus set before us and immediately to organize a society for this object. Of this society I will be the protector and a member. My first minister of state will be the president. The solicitor general of the city, the protector of the city schools, and the rector of the national institute will be members *ex officio* of the committee of management.

The object of this society shall be to extend throughout Chile the benefits of education, to promote the instruction of all classes but especially the poor, and to point out those means by which it may be best adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the country. . . .
(Signed) O'HIGGINS.

In one of the volumes of his monumental work, *La Historia de Chile*, which has served as the basis of all modern writers on the subject, the author, Claudio Gay, refers to the work of Thomson and the value of the Lancasterian schools as a means of moralizing the people. As to the schools, he declares that they were costly, in the extreme, and, besides, "gave no result whatever". In regard to Thomson, he mistakenly declares that it became necessary to dismiss him. The real facts, as indicating the high esteem in which Thomson was held, may be deduced from the following decree of Director General O'Higgins:

In view of the wellknown patriotism of James Thomson, a native of Scotland, and the unusual merit with which he has labored in Chile, as principal of the schools of mutual instruction according to the system of Lancaster which are established in this capital, of the normal schools and others, which have been opened by persons who have received his instruction—which instructions, divulged, as they are

being divulged, throughout the country, will open a wide field for the education of the youth and will end to the bettering of the customs of the inhabitants in general; and desirous of remunerating him in the way which is within the reach of the government: I have decided to declare him, and do hereby declare him, a citizen of Chile, and, consequently he is and must be considered as a Chilean, with rights equal to all natives of the country and of enjoying all favors and privileges which are due them.

Therefore, all inhabitants of the state of Chile will receive him and regard him as such. Let the courts take due notice, as also all others who may be concerned, in order that my decree may be properly obeyed. Given in the Palace at Santiago, Chile, May 31, 1822.

(Signed) BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

The deathblow to the work of the system in Chile seems to have been given by the commission in charge of public instruction more than eleven years after Thomson had left the country. Proper teachers had not been secured and the results of the work of the monitors were not satisfactory in the opinion of the commission. Already, the school had been divided into two sections and only that in which free tuition was given remained under the rule of the mutual system of instruction. The pronouncement of the commission was as follows:

The commission of studies, in recent session, has had under consideration the faulty organization and scanty progress which are to be observed in the Free School, due to the method of mutual instruction adopted in it. The commission has seen the practical result of this system of education which, far from corresponding to our hopes, not only has retarded the students in their studies but has also proved to be defective.

This is the natural consequence of a method according to which the instruction of a child is given over to an older one whose knowledge is scarcely greater. He thus acquires defects which are not corrected and in reading, especially, his progress is hindered by the scant capacity of his monitor.

As a result, we find today with sorrow that there are but one or two in each class who know how to read correctly. In view of this, the commission has deemed it prudent to abolish the method of mutual instruction, limiting to sixty the number of students, which is the maximum that can come under the immediate inspection of the master.

This report was sent to the president of the Republic, the government at once adopted it, and the Lancasterian system was abolished from the "Instituto Nacional" of Chile and, as it was supposed, from the schools of the country. But it was to be heard from again, in connection with the so-called Sunday schools which were established, through the initiative of Don Andrés Bello, the great Venezuelan who gave to Spanish America the first complete treatises on Spanish grammar and, in Chile, was influential in the production of the civil code of laws.

Bello had been one of the chief opponents of the Lancasterian system in the public schools, yet, when, at his suggestion, the Sunday schools were established for the instruction of the soldiers of the Chilean army and other adults, the system employed was that of Lancaster. In 1840, four schools of this class were established in Santiago and the government gave orders to print a new edition of the texts that had been used in the former schools of mutual instruction. No attempt, however, had been made to provide suitable monitors or assistant teachers, and the failure of the system was once more assured. A new adversary had also come, who attacked the method of mutual instruction. This was no other than the great Sarmiento of Argentina, then in Chile, and the Sunday schools were suppressed in 1843.

The reasons for the failure, says Sarmiento, were easily found. They were, in brief, as follows:

1. The difficulty of teaching a man who does not want to learn, and who studies simply because ordered to do so by his superior officer.
2. The complexity and absurdity of the system called "mutual instruction," which was the one employed. This method was enough to tire out and discourage any man, however anxious he may have been to learn.
3. The incomplete application of the system, since there were not enough monitors well prepared for their work.

It is probable that in the last point we have the real explanation of the failure of the Sunday schools. Inasmuch as its whole genius lay in its having a large number of monitors, well prepared for their work, it could hardly be expected to prove a success if these elements were lacking.

In his work on Popular Education, Sarmiento makes a final reference to the work of the Lancasterian system in Chile. He says:

In Aconcagua I made a trial of this system, with the scarcity of material which I could get together. For the effects of the system the government of Chile had ordered published a number of texts—one for reading, another for arithmetic, and a third for writing and dictation. These establishments have now entirely disappeared, without leaving any trace of their influence, and with them has disappeared, also, any doubt we may have had in regard to their efficiency.

This paragraph, which may be considered the epitaph of the system in Chile, forms a part of the book of the great Argentine educator which was published in 1849, twenty-seven years after Thomson had left Chile for Perú and other northern countries.

Peru

In June, 1822, Thomson sailed from Valparaiso for Peru and, after ten days of navigation, reached Callao, the port of Lima. On the same day that he reached Lima, which was then held by the liberating army under General José de San Martín, he called on the commander in chief and received a warm welcome. San Martín expressed his great pleasure in welcoming him to Peru and pledged his support in furthering plans for the establishing of the Lancasterian schools throughout the country. On the following day, with true Hispanic American politeness and punctiliousness, San Martín returned the call and together they planned for the opening of the schools at an early date. The members of the constituted government gave every encouragement and one of the convents of the city was cleared of its occupants and given over to the uses of the first school to be organized. In this connection, Thomson naïvely remarks:

I believe that the number of convents will decrease as the schools multiply in number!

He also remarks on the unusual celerity with which the orders of the government were carried out in the matter of dis-occupying

the convent, and cites this as a proof of the entire submission of the ecclesiastical authorities to the civil power. He says:

This order for the friars to remove was given on Saturday. On Monday they began to remove, and on Tuesday the keys were delivered up.

He at once proceeded to draw up a plan for the inauguration of his work. This was presented to San Martín, who suggested certain changes, although he declared that, as a whole, the plan was "excellent". One phrase, in particular, met the approbation of the Chilean minister, who was aiding Thomson, as also that of San Martín. This phrase read:

The men who will be most useful to South America are men truly religious and of sound morality.

"That is very true", was the comment of San Martín.

In view of the facilities given him, and in the light of his experience, gained through years of travel in South America in association with its principal men, Thomson had a deep sense of responsibility for the evangelization of the continent. It was while still at the beginning of his work in Peru that he gave expression to his thoughts in words which have often been quoted and which, although uttered almost a century ago, are still true today. He exclaimed:

What an immeasurable field is South America! And how white it is to the harvest! I have told you this repeatedly, but I have pleasure in telling it to you again. I do not think that, since the world began, has there been so fine a field for the exercise of benevolence in all its parts. The man of science, the moralist, the Christian, have all fine scope here for their talents. God, who has opened such a door, will surely provide laborers!

The promises of San Martín were not empty words. He at once published a decree relative to the Lancasterian schools, of which the following is a translation:

Preamble: Without education there is not, properly speaking, such a thing as society. Men may indeed live together without it, but they

can not know the extent of the duties and the rights that bind them one to another, and it is in the right knowledge of these duties and rights that the wellbeing of society consists. The bringing of education to any degree of perfection is, from the very nature of things, a slow work. To accomplish it, time is required and some degree of stability in the government, as well as other circumstances, both natural and moral. All these must combine in order that the education of the people may become general and that a foundation may thus be laid for the continuance of those institutions which may be established among them.

Of the various improvements which the government has been desirous of making, none has been more earnestly and constantly kept in view since the moment of its assumption of power than the reformation of public education. In those intervals of public tranquillity which have been enjoyed, when the clamor of arms has ceased, this object has occupied the attention of the government, and, although the sun has not stood still, it has found in activity the secret of doubling the length of the day.

It has already been announced in various decrees of the government that the introduction of the Lancasterian system in the public schools was one of the plans under study. It is not yet possible to calculate the revolution which will be produced in the world by this system of mutual instruction when its use has become generalized throughout the civilized nations. When this shall take place, ignorance will come to an end, or, at least, shall be reduced to certain limits beyond which it shall never be allowed to pass.

The time is now arrived to set this system a-going in this country and the commencing of it is worthy of the month of July—a month in which posterity will record many events of importance—and we trust that the justice will be done us to declare that we have desired to make this time memorable by deeds which philosophy applauds and which spring from the noblest principles of all human society, namely, the love of glory, founded on the promotion of the prosperity and happiness of mankind.

The above are the reasons on which the following decree is based.

The Supreme Deputy, with the advice of the privy council, decrees:

1. There shall be established a central or principal school, according to the system of Lancaster, under the direction of Mr. Thomson.

2. The College of Santo Tomás shall be appropriated for this purpose. The friars at present residing in it shall remove to the large

convent of Santo Domingo, leaving only so many as may be necessary for the service of the church which is attached to it.

3. In this establishment the elementary parts of education shall be taught, together with the modern languages. The necessary teachers for this purpose shall be appointed agreeably to the arrangements which shall be pointed out in the plan for the National Institute of Peru.

4. At the expiration of six months all public schools shall be closed, which are not then being conducted according to the system of mutual instruction.

5. All the masters of the public schools shall attend the central schools with two of their most advanced pupils, in order to be instructed in the new system, and, in studying it, they shall attend to the method prescribed by the director of the establishment.

6. As soon as the director of the central school shall have instructed a sufficient number of teachers, these shall be employed, with competent salaries, in establishing public schools on the same principles in the capital city of each province.

7. At the first public examination which shall take place in the central school, those masters who have been most attentive in learning the system and shall have made such progress as to be able to conduct schools according to it, shall receive the award of a gold medal to be offered for that purpose by the minister of state.

8. For the preservation and extension of the system, the Patriotic Society of Lima is particularly requested and commissioned to take such measures as may be considered necessary for these purposes, and they are desired to make known to the government those things in which its cooperation may be required in order to carry forward effectually the important object.

9. In order that the advantages of this system may be extended to the female sex, which the Spanish government has always treated with culpable neglect, it is especially recommended to the Patriotic Society to take into consideration the most likely means for establishing a central school for the instruction of girls.

10. The salary of the director and other necessary expenses for this establishment shall be defrayed by the government. The minister of state is authorized to issue all the orders necessary for the punctual fulfillment of this decree.

Given in the Government Palace in Lima, July 6, 1822.

In his letters written from Lima at this time Thomson enters into considerable detail in his description of this stirring period of American history. He particularly defends San Martín against the imputation that he wished to make himself king or dictator of the conquered provinces, and declares his belief that the commander in chief stood only for a republican form of government. Other and better known—though, it is probable, less well prepared—historians have fully endorsed this belief of Thomson. A committee had drawn up the outlines of a political constitution for the country and congress was engaged in its discussion, article by article. The article on religion had excited great interest and Thomson's description of the scene in congress while it was under discussion merits reproduction as a whole. Referring to this historic discussion of the form of religion that should prevail in the newly constituted republic, he says:

The form of Government has been unanimously declared to be republican, agreeably to what I hinted to you in one of my late letters. In the "Outlines" the Article on Religion runs thus,—"*The religion of the State is the Catholic Apostolic Church of Rome.*"

One of the members wished to add the word *only* or *exclusive*, but, since the rest did not agree with him, he entered his protest. On this account, as well as for the general interest in the subject, the matter was keenly discussed. I went, as you may well suppose, to hear what should be said on both sides and to see the result.

The first who ascended the tribune to speak was a clergyman, carrying in his hand a book about the size of a New Testament. He began by stating that it was his sincere desire that all men might be of the Roman Catholic Church. He then stated that the only proper way, in his opinion, of bringing men into the Church, was not by force nor by persecution, in any shape, but solely by persuasion, by the force of reason. After speaking a few minutes to this effect, he went on to treat of the Article as stated in the "Outlines." He regretted the divisions among Christians and the distinctive names one body and another had taken.

He then opened the book which he held in his hand, which I now found to be one of the Bible Society's New Testaments in Spanish. He read the 12th and 13th verses of the first chapter of the first Epistle

to the Corinthians and proceeded to make some remarks on the passage and to apply it to the Article in question. It appeared to him, he said, very like the divisions censured by Paul to see the Article stated in the words *Roman, Catholic, Apostolic*. Having done this he proposed that the Article should be stated in this manner,—

"The Religion of Jesus Christ is the Religion of the State."

He then made some observations on the propriety of stating it in this way, in preference to the way it stands in the "Outlines," and thus concluded his speech.

As might have been expected, this alteration or amendment was opposed. . . . After being fully discussed the vote was taken,—First, whether the Article should stand as stated in the "Outlines," or be altered. It was carried that it should stand as stated. The next question was, if the word "exclusive" should be added, and it was, unfortunately, carried in the affirmative. The Article now reads thus,—

"The Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion is the Religion of the State and the exercise of every other is excluded."

A congress had been elected in Peru, as well as a president of the Republic and other national officers, and Thomson seems to have gained the respect and favor of all these men of influence.⁶

His plans now reached beyond the mere establishment of schools and the circulation of the Bible in Spanish.

⁶ San Martín had already gone north, where he held the now historic interview with Simón Bolívar. This was more than an interview between two individuals; it was a *pour parler* between two radically distinct theories of government. Although there is no authoritative account of what passed between these two sphinx-like men in their few hours of conversation in the little town under the equator, when they met for the first and only time, there is good reason to conclude that San Martín saw the futility of opposing the ambitions of his younger colleague. Dedicated to the proposition that each of the states of South America ought to be free and independent, a complete entity in itself, self-governing and with self-perpetuating institutions, he could not acquiesce in the plan of Bolívar to establish a Federation of States, something after the plan of the Delian League, in Greece, with Bolívar himself, as was evidently his ambition, as its permanent head. Consequently, this great-hearted patriot, the Washington of South America, turned his face again toward the south and, resigning all his posts in the army and in the government, went into voluntary exile, leaving Bolívar supreme in the newly established republics of the West coast. He returned to Buenos Aires and thence crossed to France. He died in Paris in 1850, and, thirty years afterward, his body was brought back by his grateful countrymen, who had now learned the debt due his memory, and now rests in the beautiful cathedral of Buenos Aires.

In a letter to the Bible Society, he says:

Your are aware, I suppose, that the inhabitants of Peru do not all speak the Spanish language. The descendants of the ancient Peruvians are very numerous and most of them speak only the language of their ancestors. In some parts of the country, they have assumed the manners and the language of their conquerors, but in other parts,—and these by far the most populous,—their ancient tongue is the only medium of communication.

I have long had my eye on this interesting part of the population of the country and have, at length, obtained a fair prospect of being able to plant schools among them and also to hand them the Word of God in their native tongue. An officer belonging to a native regiment, called the “Peruvian Legion,” and who thoroughly understands the Quechua, or Peruvian, language, has taken a great liking to our system and is extremely desirous of benefitting his countrymen by communicating instruction to them. He is at present attending our school for this purpose and I entertain a pleasing hope regarding the results of his operations.

It was a time, however, of great political unrest and the plans of Thomson were to miscarry in many important particulars. The Spaniards again secured possession of the city, driving out the republican armies, and, although Thomson gained the friendship of the Spanish commander, he could do little in his work while the city was under martial influence. Bolívar finally arrived from the north and the Spaniards were driven out and Lima definitely passed into the power of the liberators. In a letter written near the close of the year 1823 he describes his impressions of the new commander in chief as follows:

I mentioned to you in my last that Bolívar had arrived in the city. Some days after his arrival I was introduced to him and was very favorably received. He is, in appearance, a very modest unassuming man. . . . He appears very active and intelligent, but I could not read anything of an extraordinary nature in his countenance. He has not the eye of San Martín, whose glance would pierce you through in a moment. Bolívar’s weather-stained face tells you that he has not been idle. No man, I believe, has borne so much of the burden, or has toiled so much in the heat of the day, in the cause of the independence of South America, as Bolívar. His labors in his own country are

already crowned with success. Colombia may be considered free and independent. According to all accounts that reach us, the Congress of that country is going on with great steadfastness. The following, I believe, is a very pleasing trait in the character of Bolívar. When invited to come here, he replied that he would gladly come, without a moment's delay, but that he could not allow himself to obey his feelings in the matter, as an Article in the Constitution of Colombia prohibits the President from going out of the State without the leave of the Congress. From this circumstance, he said, and from a desire to give an example of subjection to laws, he could not come until he could obtain leave. He accordingly wrote to the Congress for permission and although, from the distance from the Capital, he was long in receiving an answer, and in the interval was strongly urged from this quarter, yet he remained in Guayaquil until the permission from the Congress arrived and then he immediately sailed for this place.

Thomson had succeeded in establishing a good work in Lima, in spite of the political difficulties of the times. The central school had two hundred and thirty students. Another school had been initiated and already had eighty children in attendance, and he was planning to open a school for girls. Three masters were also giving all their time to the study of the system with the purpose of introducing it into other cities of Peru. But, in view of the continued war and the unsettled conditions of the time, he decided to leave Peru and start for Colombia. In reviewing his work in the principal viceroyalty of Spanish America, it is remarkable that he had been able to enlist the sympathy and active help of not only San Martín and Bolívar, in his plans for the education of the children of Peru, but also of the general of the Spanish forces in control of the city and the very Catholic governor.

His reasons for leaving Peru are very freely and frankly set forth in one of his last letters from Lima. After referring to the progress made by the children, in spite of so many difficulties, he adds that he had already packed his goods, preparatory to leaving the country. He continues:

I had indeed resolved to sail for Guayaquil with the first ship, and was inquiring for a passage. My reasons for doing so were quite solid.

My salary, as you know, is paid by the government. Under present circumstances, the payment of the troops is the first thing attended to, and to procure sufficient funds for this purpose requires great exertions in the present exhausted condition of the place. To obtain this supply, all the ordinary sources of revenue are laid hold of and other heavy contributions are laid on the inhabitants to make up the deficiencies. This being the case, there was no prospect of my obtaining supplies, more especially as persons in the immediate employ of the Government and who have salaries assigned them could obtain nothing As you know, I have no supplies but what my own hands provide me with, and it became an imperative duty to remove when my usual resources were dried up.

However, he found that he could not leave his school at once. The parents of the children, all of them poor and already burdened with the contributions that were forced on all the inhabitants of the city for the support of the troops, and in spite of the high prices that prevailed and made their very existence difficult, came to him and begged him to remain, promising to pay a small fee for the education of their children. In view of their insistence, and because of his great devotion to the work, he postponed his going for three months.

Colombia

In his journey to the north, with the capital of Colombia as his destination, Thomson was importuned to stop in both Trujillo and Guayaquil and establish schools on the Lancasterian basis. But he felt that he could not interrupt his journey to the more important centers of Quito and Bogotá, and his interest was now largely centered in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In fact, his school work may be said to have ended when he left Lima, except that he sought out the school authorities in all points which he visited and endeavored to encourage education in every way possible. But he himself was unable to give his time to the organization of new schools and resolutely set his face toward the northern coast of the continent, from which he hoped to embark for London in order that he might give an account of his work during a period of seven years in the principal countries of South America.

The journey from Callao to Guayaquil could then be made in comparative ease and comfort by any one of the numerous sailing vessels that were engaged in commerce along the coast. But, from Guayaquil to Quito and, thence, to Bogotá, the conditions were completely changed. The route now lay along the alligator-infested river, as far as Babahoyo, a distance of about forty miles. This was a journey of three days in a small canoe, and the crowded condition of the small boat, the heat, and the swarms of stinging insects combined to make it an experience that was far from pleasant. He also notes that in addition to the alligators, of which he counted as many as forty lying together on the sand, the shores of the river were frequented by cougars, jaguars, and, in particular, by serpents peculiar to the tropics.

From the small port that marked the end of the river journey, he proceeded on mule back along the Indian trails and under the shadow of giant Chimborazo until, after having safely passed through many dangers, of which he makes but scant mention, he reached the city of Quito, situated on the equator and at that time one of the principal cities of Colombia.

During this journey up the mountain slope from Guayaquil he had been hospitably entertained by the governors of the various provinces which he had crossed, and by other influential men of the communities visited, and, in many cases, he lodged with the friars in their convents and was greatly aided by them in the sale of the copies of the Scriptures which he carried with him. Writing from Quito, and in review of his long journey, he says:

I have been much pleased with my journey, in the prosperity I have had in the distribution of the sacred volume. I have observed a very general desire to possess this book, and I have had the pleasure of seeing great numbers flock together, not to receive it as a present, but to buy it.

Of upwards of fifteen hundred New Testaments which I had at the outset, not many remain. I had no Bibles, and was sorry for it, as, from its being generally asked for, I am sure that I could have sold many copies.

The condition of education in Quito at that time, as well as Thomson's plans for the establishing of his own work, can best be understood by the following quotation from one of his letters, written from that city in November, 1824:

Before I speak of the state and progress of education in Quito, I shall mention two circumstances which have occurred to me since I left Lima. I notice these because they are encouraging, as it respects the progress of education, and because they tend to prove what I have so often stated to you,—that there is a very general desire throughout this country for extending the benefits of education to all, and with all possible speed.

The circumstances referred to occurred in Trujillo and Guayaquil. In both these places I received proposals from the magistrates to remain among them, in order to establish schools on our plan, and to promote the objects of education in general. In both cases I had a struggle with my feelings, though not with my judgment, in declining the honor offered me. Though my duty bade me pursue my journey, yet, in consequence of these proposals, I can not help taking an additional interest in the progress of education in the places mentioned; and through the intercourse that took place upon this subject during my short stay in these towns I expect some good will result, of which I shall afterward inform you.

I come now to speak of the state and prospects of education in this city. The state of elementary education here is very low, but its prospects are more encouraging. Perhaps you are aware that the Colombian government is taking steps to extend education all over its share of South America. Some time ago a school on the Lancasterian plan was established in Bogotá, the Capital, by a friar who had been banished from his native country on account of his then so-called revolutionary principles, and who had learned the system during his exile. Upon his return to America he established this school which has now existed for two or three years. It is the wish of the Government to put a model school in the capital of each department, and from these schools to send out masters to all the towns and villages the department contains. For this purpose, the friar whom I have mentioned, has lately arrived here and is getting his school-room prepared. I have had several conversations with him, and have been much pleased in observing the lively interest he takes in the education of the youth, as well as in the general progress of knowledge throughout his native country. . . .

The next thing I have to notice is of some interest and respects female education. You are aware that the education of this sex is very much limited in South America. It is so in Quito, as might be expected. From the consideration that this is a large place and the chief city of a large and populous district of country, I was very desirous of doing something toward establishing a Female Seminary or school here. . . . I am lodged in the home of the Marquis de San José, where I am very kindly treated, and I wished the Marchioness to take the lead in the affair, as a matter of courtesy on my part, and principally because she is the person of most influence in the place. I stated to her the plan proposed and was happy to find that she entered heartily into it. . . . And such is the interest taken by the Government in these matters that I have no doubt of its complete success.

Thomson remained three weeks in Quito and was cordially entertained by influential persons, among them the principal and the professors of the leading school of the city. Before leaving Lima he had bought two copies of a book entitled "The Evidences of Christianity", written by the Bishop of London and translated into Spanish. One copy was sold to one of the leading men of the city, who not only read it with the greatest profit and interest, but passed it around among his friends who also studied it with great satisfaction. So great was the interest aroused in this subject that the ladies of the city took a subscription for the purpose of having an edition published in Quito. Thomson's remarks on the need of just this class of literature are interesting. He says:

I suppose that I need not tell you that a work on the evidences of Christianity is not a little wanted in many parts of this country, as there are many who are verging towards, or have already gone into, deism. On this account, as well as on others, it behooves the friends of Christianity to bestir themselves on behalf of South America. The present is a very interesting and a very critical period for this country. Much, very much, may be done at present, through prudent and zealous means, to instruct and confirm the wavering, and even, perhaps, bring back those who have apostatised from the faith. These measures were connected with means of instruction, as far as can be done. Regarding the true principles and practices of Christianity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, a very plentiful harvest, through the blessing

of God, might be reaped. If it should please the Lord to spare me and to enable me to reach my native land, I trust that I shall find many ready to lend their aid towards such a sacred object.

From Quito to Bogotá the route to be followed by Thomson lay through tropical valleys and over high mountain ranges, a total distance of over eight hundred miles. A recent traveler who was "vagabonding down the Andes"⁷ reports that he took fifty-seven days for the trip from Bogotá to Quito, and that his pedometer marked eight hundred and forty-four miles as the distance walked. Thomson, with his usual disregard for the spectacular in the account of his travels, simply remarks in his first letter written from Bogotá that he had had a "long and by no means an agreeable journey. The distance from Quito to this place is considerable, the roads are very bad, and, in passing through one district there is considerable danger". On this journey, however, three schools were discovered which had been established on the Lancasterian plan. One of these was in the town Yahnará and the other two in Popayan. One of these last was for girls.

The establishing of these schools in the provincial districts of Colombia, says Thomson,

is the result of a general plan of education upon this system in connection with a central school established some time ago in Bogotá, the Capital. On arriving at that city, I visited this model school and hoped to meet there the Director of the establishment, to converse with him in regard to the number and efficiency of the various provincial schools. I was, however, disappointed in seeing him, as he was actually engaged on a tour through some of the provinces to promote the formation of schools. I can not, therefore, state how many schools were in operation, but I have good reason to think the existing number is calculated to encourage the friends of education, and that it goes on increasing.

I received from the Minister of the Interior a set of the lessons used in the schools. One regrets to find that the Scriptures are not there, nor any extracts from a volume so much calculated to benefit us, in youth and age, in time and eternity. With this important exception,

⁷ H. A. Franck.

the lessons are good and in every way superior to the trash formerly used in the schools of South America.

One part of the lessons is worthy of notice. The Constitution of the country is divided into portions and sections and is read in the schools. By this means the children get acquainted in early life with the real nature and circumstances of their native land, and thus become better citizens and more useful to each other. This plan is worthy of imitation in other quarters. It is to be hoped that ere long this judicious plan, which has been adopted for the purpose of imbuing the early mind with a knowledge of the statutes of the country will be adopted also with regard to the Statutes of God unfolded in the Holy Scriptures.

One further reference must be made to the work of Thomson as the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, namely, the formation of a Bible society in Bogotá with the title "The Colombian Bible Society". The president of the University of Chile, to whose book reference has been made, has the following paragraph in regard to this society and its founder:

In Bogotá Thomson had the unspeakable satisfaction of founding a "Colombian Bible Society," whose only aim was the publication and distribution of the Holy Scriptures, in Spanish.

There was some resistance on the part of the clergy, but, on the other hand, the society counted on the help of the Government, of distinguished members of the clergy, and of many highly respectable citizens.

The first meetings for the organization were held in the chapel of the University, in the building which had been the principal convent of the Dominicans. The gifts toward the society, in a short time, reached the sum of one thousand three hundred and eighty pesos.

The minister of foreign relations was named president of the society, and the minister of finance and the vice-president of the republic supported the plan of founding the society and generously supported it.

Ten of the twenty members of the executive committee of this society were clergymen of the Roman Catholic Church.

*Mexico and the Antilles*⁸

From Colombia, in 1825, Thomson returned to England. But his heart was in the work which he had begun in Hispanic America and, in January, 1827, he accepted an appointment from the British and Foreign Bible Society to undertake the introduction of the Scriptures in Mexico. He reached that country at the end of April, of the same year, and proceeded at once to the capital, probably going up over the route that is now followed by the railway from Veracruz.

From this center different parts of the republic were visited and a large number of books were sold. In the mining regions, in particular, he met with an unusually warm welcome from the miners and their families, of which he has the following to record:

The rich and well populated mining districts through which I have passed were supplied, by means of this visit, with a treasure more precious than that which they were digging from the mines. And it was a pleasure to see the people recognize, at least once, the superiority of the treasure which I offered to that which they had taken from the ground. They showed their preference by giving me, at one time,—not to mention others,—some seventy pounds of the precious metal which they had taken out, in exchange for copies of the Sacred Volume which I put into their hands.

However, orders prohibiting the further sale of the Bible, caused Thomson to withdraw from Mexico, although he cherished hopes of returning later to that country. He had been well received by many of the leading citizens, some of them ecclesiastics, and he was defended in the papers by some of these men who regretted his departure from the country and the consequent cessation of his work. However, he considered that his time might be better occupied elsewhere and he returned to England to make his report on conditions as he had found them in the ancient land of Moctezuma.

⁸ For much of the material of this section the author is indebted to a recent book, *Diego Thomson, Apóstol de la Instrucción Pública, e Iniciador de la Obra Evangélica en la América Latina*, por Juan C. Varetto, Imprenta Evangélica, Buenos Aires, 1918.

He had maintained but an indirect connection with the work of education in Mexico, inasmuch as a former *chargé d' Affaires* of Mexico in London had learned the principles of the Lancasterian system and, on his return to his own country, had been active in securing the establishment of schools on that basis. In a report which this gentleman, Sr. Rocafuerte, made to the "British and Foreign School Society", and which was afterward published, occurs the following relative to the work of the Lancasterian system in Mexico:

In Mexico, the first Lancasterian school was opened on the twenty-second of August, 1822, and, by one of those strange occurrences in revolutions, the halls of the Inquisition, so inimical to this institution, were converted into a public school, into a nursery of free men, into a true temple of reason. Three hundred children are taught to read in this school according to the new system of education, a system that will lead to the moral perfection of the world, as the mariner's compass led to the geographical perfection of the globe. This first school was called "*La Escuela del Sol*" [*i.e.*, "*The School of the Sun*"].

Some time afterward, the government granted to the Lancasterian Association of Mexico the large and beautiful convent of Bethlehem, and a second school was formed there. This establishment is divided into three parts. . . . The first part is calculated for six hundred and sixty children; they learn to read, write, and cipher; they are also instructed in the political and religious catechism, orthography, arithmetic, and Spanish grammar. The parents of the children who can pay give a dollar a month. The children of the poor pay nothing.

The second department will contain four hundred scholars, who pay two dollars a month, or nearly five pounds a year. It is a model or central school for forming teachers and good professors who are afterward to be sent into the different provinces in order to fulfill the desire of the government which is to place in every village throughout Mexico a Lancasterian school, a printing press, and a chapel.

The third department will contain three hundred scholars, and these pay three dollars a month, or seven pounds a year. The object intended in this department is to teach Latin, French, geography, and drawing, on the principles of the Lancasterian system.

In 1823 there were introduced into the Lancasterian schools of Mexico the lessons used in your schools of London, taken from the Bible, without note or comment. Some old priests opposed the intro-

duction of these, stating that it was prohibited to read extracts from the Bible without notes. The secretary of the Lancasterian Association supported the opposite opinion and succeeded in establishing in the schools the use of these extracts. The consequence is that our children are acquiring a taste for the perusal of the Scriptures, and they are, hence, learning to be virtuous, charitable, tolerant and free. . . .

. . . . This vast plan of human improvement is the great object of your noble institution, an institution which truly deserves the gratitude of the world and the most cordial support of all who are influenced by the *love of their country and the principles of Christianity*.

Although the remaining years of the life of Thomson were given up to the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society rather than to that of education, it will be well to follow him in his travels until his work is finished. Having been obliged to leave Mexico, he offered his services to the society for work in the West Indies. He was gladly accepted and in carrying out his commission visited practically every island of the Lesser Antilles, as also the larger islands of the groups to the north. From Cuba he wrote the society in 1837, as follows:

I am writing you from the Island of Cuba, a place which has been long in my thoughts with mingled desire, hopes and fears,—the first and third of these sentiments prevailing over the other. But your work and mine is to offer and introduce the Sacred Scriptures in all places and to all men of all continents, and even to those in the far-off islands of the sea. This is the last island of the West Indies, both as regards its position and the visit of your Agent,—and it is also the last in many respects which I do not now care to mention. But, although last, it is not the least, since, in size, it is the largest of all the islands of the Antilles, and it is also the largest as regards the need of help from your Society. It is the twentieth island which I have visited on my trips through the archipelago and in all these places the Word has free entrance and complete acceptance, except in Porto Rico.

Returning to England, Thomson made a trip to Canada, and was then appointed agent of the Bible Society in Spain and Portugal. He also visited France and even crossed over into Morocco. He died in London, in 1854.

In the report of the Bible Society for the same year are to be found the following words:

The Society can not receive the news of the death of its lamented friend, Dr. James Thomson, who, from 1823 to 1844 acted as one of its Agents abroad, without recording its acknowledgment of the faithful and valuable services given by him during that long period, in South America, the Antilles, in British America, in Mexico, and other places, and, lately, when, at the request of the Society, he took charge of a provisional mission to Spain.

The Society remembers with special appreciation the personal piety of Dr. Thomson, his freedom from sectarian spirit, his devotion to the work, his zeal and tact, and his untiring perseverance in carrying out the same. Also, it can not fail to record that since he ceased to have an official connection with the Society, he has been constantly solicitous for its welfare and ready to serve the countries which had been the scene of his former labors. And many will bear witness of the voluntary aid which he gave, so far as he was able, and always with the greatest satisfaction, to the various institutions and projects whose object was that of the evangelization of all the world,—an object always dear to his heart.

WEBSTER E. BROWNING.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lecciones de Historia Argentina. By RICARDO LEVENE. 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: J. Lajoune y Cia, 1920. Pp. xxxi, 436, 516.)

These volumes compose the revised fifth edition of a textbook of the history of Argentina written by a member of the new school of Argentine historians. The present edition is scarcely as attractive typographically as the fourth edition: it is printed in a somewhat more compact format; and the paper is scarcely of such a good quality. A small amount of illustrative material is omitted from this edition. Although it has no formal bibliography, yet it is equipped with footnotes.

The first volume is devoted to the colonial epoch. Its introductory chapter deals with the sciences auxiliary to history with some attention to Argentina's libraries, museums, and archives. The second chapter is concerned with the age of Columbus. Then the early discoverers and explorers of the Río de la Plata are described. The aborigenes of the Platean basin are characterized and mention is made of the activities of the Incas in that region. Considerable space is given to the temporal and spiritual conquest of southern South America by the Spaniards. The spread of settlement into the interior of that continent, the reduction of the Indians, and early indications of discontent with Spanish rule are successively considered. Economic conditions in the viceroyalty of la Plata receive special attention; for a chapter is allotted to each of the following topics: colonial commerce, economic life, the administration of the royal treasury, and economic institutions. A similar amount of space is assigned to judicial institutions, church organization, colonial journals, and colonial society. Four chapters are concerned with the English invasions of the Platean viceroyalty, other antecedents of the Argentine struggle for independence, and the revolution of May, 1810, in Buenos Aires. All in all, this volume furnishes a suggestive epitome of the colonial history of Argentina which utilizes the most recent scientific contributions of Argentine scholars.

The second volume is occupied with the revolutionary period of Argentina's history and with national organization. Only a few more

pages are allotted to the years from 1810 to 1916 than to the colonial period. Of the thirty-five chapters which compose this volume fifteen are concerned with the troublous although interesting history of Buenos Aires and the United Provinces of la Plata which ended by the adoption of the Argentine constitution of 1826. Chapter twenty-six carries the story through the battle of Monte Caseros and discusses the resulting downfall of Dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas. The four following chapters mainly deal with the national reorganization which took place during the years from 1852 to 1861. A chapter accorded to the war of certain South-American nations with Paraguay in which Argentina played an important rôle is naturally written from the Argentine viewpoint. The epoch from 1868 to 1916 is summarily disposed of in some fifty pages. In consequence many topics of interest and significance in the recent history of Argentina, such as electoral reform under President Roque Sáenz Peña, the relations between the national government and the provinces, and the attitude of Argentina toward the World War, receive little or no attention. There may, of course, be reasons why the author of a history of Argentina that is intended for use in the schools of his country may wish to avoid describing in detail the portion of his nation's history about which the passions of some of his compatriots still run high. To the reviewer, however, the neglect to allot more space to the half century of Argentine development under the existing constitution is a cause for regret.

In spite of this shortcoming—which the reviewer hopes may be somewhat remedied in the next edition—Levene's history is among the best works that deal with the history of a nation of Hispanic America. May its tribe increase.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation, 1451-1504.

By IERNE L. PLUNKETT. [Heroes of the Nations series.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. xi, 432. Illustrated.)

The full title of this work indicates, it is to be presumed, a purpose to write a biography not only, but a history of "the making of the Spanish nation". With a writer of such talent in the portrayal of character and the narration of events as the author, the biographical element, however, receives an unequal share of attention to the detriment of the story of the evolution of the Spanish nation. Notwith-

standing this disproportion, emphasis was placed upon the contributions to Spanish nationhood which were consequent effects of the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, the formation of that peculiar union of Castile and Aragon, and the institutional and administrative reforms of those rulers. On the other hand, such fundamental factors as sectionalism in Spain and the racial make-up of the people receives little notice.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, the whole being adorned with some forty-five well chosen illustrations taken in the main from the works of Valentín Carderera y Solano, Lafuente, and Amador de los Rios. One map is provided. The first three chapters are devoted to a description of the political conditions in Castile of the fifteenth century with special reference to the misgovernment, feudal disorders, and civil wars of the reign of Henry IV., and to an analysis of the intrigues and involved politics which related to the marriage of "Isabel" and Ferdinand and their accession to power. There follows, in the fourth, the story of the Portuguese War, fought about the succession in Castile, and that of the final elimination of Isabella's rival, La Beltraneja. With respect to the first 120 pages, it is safe to say that nothing new is presented. In the chapter on "Organization and Reform", the problems and achievements in administrative, judicial, and financial reform are discussed with consummate brevity; and the history of the incorporation into the crown of the masterships of the military orders, the service of the *Santa Hermandad*, and the enforced restitution by the nobles of wrongly appropriated royal properties is written with a due sense of its significance to the process of suppressing seigniorial anarchy. However excellent this chapter may be in clearness and as an achievement in compression, it leaves much to be desired as a study of institutions. The author is happier in the narration of events in the final wars against the Mohammedans and the fall of Granada. The study of the Inquisition (ch. X) and the story of the expulsion of the Jews and the Mudéjares (ch. XI) are particularly vivid in the characterizations of such men as Cardinal Mendoza, Ximénez de Cisneros, Talavera, and Torquemada. The chapter (pp. 285-318) on Columbus—based entirely on Irving, Filson Young, and Thacher—is of little value. In addition there are chapters on "Isabel and her children", which is one of the best; "The Italian Wars", which is of doubtful pertinence; and "Castilian Literature", in which Isabella is shown to have been a deeply interested patroness of educational and cultural activities and institutions.

The author is conscious of the extremes between extravagance of praise and severity of condemnation in the interpretations of Isabella, but this book is neither extravagant nor severe. Isabella is presented as having an "independent and clear-sighted mind"; as an able politician capable of taking care of herself in the midst of court intrigues; as a ruler of firm justice tempered on occasion not so much by mercy as by expediency; as a wife and mother deserving of "unstinted admiration". Her "bigotry" in religion is explained as an "inheritance" shared in common with "the greater part of her race", yet the "relentless cruelty" of her persecutions is viewed with "sick disgust". Isabella rendered great service in restoring the crown as a "symbol of national justice" and in securing domestic peace.

In view of the works of Prescott and Irving, to attempt a book of a semi-popular character was a bold undertaking. The result is a clearly and interestingly written volume which justifies a worthy position in the series in which it appears. Yet it may be questioned if it "will take the place" of Prescott's *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*. This work adds little if anything in the way of information; and, although Altamira and Lafuente are included in the brief bibliographical list, little use was made in the main body of the book of any authority which had not been employed by Prescott. The present work most frequently quotes from the writings of Hernando del Pulgar, Jerónimo Zurita, Andrés Bernaldez, Marineo Siculo, and Sabatini, with scattered excerpts from Peter Martyr. Excepting Sabatini, of course, these are writers constantly referred to by Prescott in his heavily documented history.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

A Syllabus of Hispanic-American History. By WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR., PH.D., Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Third edition. Revised and reprinted. (University of North Carolina: 1920. Pp. 44. \$0.50.)

This *Syllabus*, the preface states, "is designed primarily for the use of students of the University of North Carolina as a guide to the introductory study of Hispanic-American history". The aim of the author is to stress economic and institutional history, rather than political, which can best be sacrificed when the limitations of time must receive consideration. The outline consists of an introduction bearing upon the European background and thirteen detailed chapters, the first

entitled "The Period of Discovery," and the last, "Contemporary History, Problems, and Achievements of Hispanic America". A goodly number of bibliographical references, including works in Spanish and French, as well as in English, accompany the various topics. Careful scholarship and regard for sound pedagogical principles characterize the work. Without doubt, Professor Pierson has performed a service of more than local character; for men and women who have had no formal training are constantly being called upon to teach courses in the Hispanic American field. To them the *Syllabus* should prove a special boon, but it will not be without interest to high school teachers who are anxious to introduce our neighbors to the south in connection with the course in United States history.

In view of such large opportunity for usefulness, it seems legitimate to call attention to a few respects in which, in the opinion of the reviewer, the *Syllabus* might be improved. Judging from the briefest possible mention given to the Aztecs and Incas (p. 14), the author feels that they deserve but slight attention in an introductory course. This is a mistake, for a study of these peoples not only throws valuable light upon the cultural possibilities of their descendents, but appears absolutely essential to an understanding of political, economic, religious, and moral conditions in present-day Hispanic America. Chapter four, dealing with geography and resources, seems out of place in its position immediately preceding the chapter on "The Struggle for Independence". Surely the logical position for this is the first part of chapter one, where it would furnish the needed setting for the historical narrative which follows. Some of the details listed for economic history might be omitted in order to secure time for more attention to the political history of the leading nations, such as the A. B. C. republics; for a year's course in Hispanic American history should give sufficient stress to the leading political figures to make these stand out in the minds of the students as real personalities; and unless more attention is given to the biographical thread than is indicated in the *Syllabus*, this end will not be accomplished.

To make the *Syllabus* of more general value, it would also be desirable to add more of the standard works in Spanish, such as Pelliza's *Historia Argentina* and Galdames's *Historia de Chile*, or to substitute them for some of the more inferior volumes of the South American series. Dr. Oliviera Lima's very helpful analysis of *The Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Stanford University Press) should be given a place. And *Inter-America*,

the *Pan-American Magazine*, the *Mexican Review*, *Cuba Contemporánea*, and other periodicals of similar standing, which contain much valuable matter, should be included.

Goucher College.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Paraguay. A Commercial Handbook. By WILLIAM LYTLE SCHURZ.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 199. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920. Pp. 195. Folding map. Paper. 40 cents.)

No other book equally enlightening and accurate concerning present-day Paraguay has yet appeared. Its author is a trained historical worker who was given absence from his post in the historical faculty of the University of Michigan where he taught Hispanic American history, in order that he might visit Paraguay as trade commissioner for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. As the title of Dr. Schurz's work indicates, the volume is intended primarily for the use of North Americans from the United States who are interested in foreign trade. It contains, however, a wealth of information that is of importance in the classroom to those not only interested in the trade of South America but as well to students of the history of the southern continent, for it presents the necessary background that can be obtained nowhere else in such convenient form.

The introduction gives brief data relative to geography, climate, history, government, religion, education, and population. Other main topics discussed are the following: cities and towns; agriculture; stockraising; meatpacking; forest industries; mineral resources; manufactures; transportation and communication; labor; immigration, colonization, and land; foreign trade; investments; banks and banking; money and exchange; and public finances. The result is an excellent social and economic study that should give the volume a place on the shelves of every student of Hispanic American history. The author personally visited all parts of the country except those parts of the Chaco district that have not yet been visited by any white man so far as known. The large folding map is credited to Cleto Romero, former director of the National Department of Engineers in Paraguay, but it contains various emendations and additions by Dr. Schurz. This map shows the extreme claims of Paraguay to the mysterious and largely unknown Chaco district.

While Paraguay is as yet mainly an undeveloped country, potentially it is of considerable wealth, and the future will undoubtedly see this republic—the old domain of the Jesuit order—advance rapidly because of its agricultural and cattle possibilities. The country is a vast storehouse only awaiting the world's necessity to make its importance fully realized. In this connection the section on Transportation and communications will be of interest. A handbook by the same author, who has recently returned to South America as commercial attaché for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce at Rio de Janeiro, is now in press.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

New Mexico the Land of the Delight Makers. ["See America First" Series.] By GEORGE WHARTON JAMES. (Boston: The Page Company, [1920]. Map, Illustrated. Index. \$5.00.)

The sub-title of this volume well describes its contents: "The History of its Ancient Cliff Dwellings and Pueblos, Conquest by the Spaniards, Franciscan Missions; Personal Accounts of the Ceremonies, Games, Social Life and Industries of its Indians; A Description of its Climate, Geology, Flora and Birds, its Rivers and Forests; A Review of its rapid Development and Reclamation Projects and Educational System; with full and accurate accounts of its Progressive Counties, Cities and Towns". This is not a scientific treatment of New Mexico, but a tribute to its historic past, its interesting present, and its developing future, written by one who went thither in search of health and for over thirty years lived in the out-of-doors of this state, learning its natural characteristics and its people at first hand instead of from books. The volume is an intimate narration, written *con amore*, and rightly has a place in the "See America First" Series.

In addition to its introduction, there are thirty-one chapters in the book, as follows: Why "The land of the delight makers"; The exploration and subjugation of New Mexico; The Homeric epic of New Mexico; The great Pueblo rebellion of 1680; The world's greatest autograph album, Inscription Rock; My adventures at Zuni; Among the witches; Hunting with Indians in New Mexico; Acoma, the city of the cliffs; Katzimo—the enchanted mesa; The arts and industries of the Indians; The religion of the Indians; Indian songs and music; The native architecture of New Mexico; The pueblo of Taos; The antiquities of New Mexico, Its ancient dwellings, its mission churches; The American

passion play; The mountains of New Mexico; The national forests of New Mexico; The bird life of New Mexico; The flora of New Mexico; The influence of New Mexico upon literature; The influence of New Mexico upon art; The Taos society of artists; Ancient and modern methods of seeing New Mexico; New Mexico as the nation's playground; Education in New Mexico; The university and special schools of New Mexico; The art museum of Santa Fe; Irrigation in New Mexico; Albuquerque, the commercial metropolis of New Mexico; The population of New Mexico.

The title of the book comes of course from Bandelier's *The Delight Makers*, as the author explains in his first chapter—a name chosen by Bandelier for his novel “from the clowns who performed their antics and bufoonery for the delectation of the prehistoric dwellers in the cliffs”; and James adopts it because New Mexico with its wealth of archaeological and ethnological material, its past history, and its natural wonders is a land of delight to all who visit it. He describes New Mexico as “a land of rich fertility and of hopeless barrenness; where irrigation has been practiced for centuries, even long before Columbus sailed from Spain on his voyage of discovery”. He expresses a wish that the book may “lead a few people of intelligence each year to break loose from the traditional and conventional routes of travel and give themselves the joy of roughing it in New Mexico”. In his statement that without New Mexico “there would be no accepted science of American archaeology to the outside world”, he forgets that the United States is not all of America, and that the richest fields of American archaeology do not lie in this country but in the lands to the south.

The historical chapters dealing with the history of the Spaniards in New Mexico are written mainly from secondary material. Most interesting, perhaps, of these chapters is that treating of *El Morro* or Inscription Rock, on which many autographs have been cut, some of which are reproduced. The most interesting of all is that of Juan de Oñate, but in transcribing this, James has made several blunders, which are rather inexcusable as the inscription is perfectly legible. Instead of reading “Paso por aqui el adelantado de don Jan de Oñate el descubrimiento de la mar del sur a 16 de Abril ao 1606”, this inscription should read “Paso por aq̃i el adelantado don J^on de oñate Del descubrimyento de la mar del sur a 16 de abril del 606”. His descriptions of the people are good, considerable use being made of Cushing's work as well as that of other writers. His remarks on the passion

play are interesting although too wordy at times, and with too great a preponderance of the pronoun "I". In this connection, it must be remembered that under the United States flag is still to be seen another set of *penitentes*, namely, those of a small town in the Philippine Islands, of whom what James says of the class and character of many of *penitentes* in New Mexico is equally true.

The mechanical appearance of the book which is dedicated to Jesse Walter Fewkes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, is excellent. The binding is attractive and the illustrations, eight of which are colored, are good. The map is serviceable but would be better if it were larger. As a whole the work conveys much information of many different kinds. In its execution, it is uneven in its style and too frequently accuses the easterner of ignorance of the west. Its first hand history is valuable, even although this is rather a popular book than one for the student; but its history taken from books adds nothing new to what is known already, although the author could scarcely have omitted these portions of his narrative in a work of this nature. It is very probable that a large edition of the volume will be sold.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Colección de Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla. Publicada por la Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. Tomo III (1519-1522). (Barcelona: Imprenta de la Viuda de Luis Tasso, 1920. Pp. vi, 383, 1 leaf. 15 pesetas. Bound in stiff paper.)

The third volume of the remarkable *Colección General de Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas* contains documents nos. 86-126 inclusive. The printing of this volume, as stated in the colophon, was completed on June 18, 1920. A slip tipped on to the page containing the half title of the series is as follows: "The untoward circumstances which have affected work in general since the middle of the year 1919 furnish a prime cause for the delay in publishing this volume, for although normal conditions are now reigning, production remained liable to great delays, due to the accompanying press of work. These are difficulties which could not be overcome earlier notwithstanding all our good intentions. We believe firmly that the next volume will be published this same year [1920], unless causes beyond our control frustrate our intentions".

The documents of this volume are as follows: Doc. 86, The cost of the five vessels intended for the discovery of the Spicery under Ferdinand Magellan, Seville, 1519. Doc. 87, Cost of the vessels, supplies, ammunition, etc., of Magellan's fleet, Seville, 1519. Doc. 88, Pay of sailors, common seamen, and boys of Magellan's fleet, Seville, 1519. Doc. 89, News relative to a fleet despatched to the Indies by the king of Portugal, [Lisboa?, 1519]. Doc. 90, Judicial inquiry made by order of Ferdinand Magellan with the object of ascertaining events aboard the ship *San Antonio*, Port San Julian, April 26, 1520. Doc. 91, Royal cédula addressed to the officials of the House of Trade relative to the salary of Nicolás de Artieta, Coruña, May 16, 1520. Doc. 92, Patent as treasurer of the Trade of the Spicery granted to Bernardino Mélen-dez, and his oath, Coruña, May 17, 1520. Doc. 93, Letter of Ruy Falero to the Cardinal Governor of Castile informing him that he had been arrested, and requesting him to have the goodness to have the king of Spain write in his behalf to the king of Portugal, Cubillan, July, 1520. Doc. 94, Letter from the officials of the House of Trade to the Cardinal Governor informing him of the imprisonment of Ruy Falero in Portugal, and about other matters, Seville, July 31, 1520. Doc. 95, Royal cédula directing that 15,000 maravedís be paid annually to Martín de Mezquita until the return of Magellan's fleet, although by his Majesty's order he did not accompany the fleet, Valladolid, August 26, 1520. Doc. 96, Royal cédula directing that no pilot make the voyage to the Indies without being examined by the chief pilot Sebastian Cabot, Valladolid, September 26, 1520. Doc. 97, Pay directed by his Majesty to be given to the captains and officers of Magellan's fleet, Seville, 1520. Doc. 98, Geographical description from the Cape of Good Hope to China, 1520-1528. Doc. 99, Letter from the accountant, Juan López de Recalde to Archbishop Fonseca, informing him of the arrival at the port of Seville of the ship *San Antonio*, one of Magellan's five ships, etc., Seville, May 12, 1521. Doc. 100, Continuation of Recalde's letter. Doc. 101, Letter from the Bishop of Burgos to the officials of Seville in answer to a communication in which the officials informed him of the arrival of the ship *San Antonio*, Burgos, May 26, 1521. Doc. 102, Letter from Licentiate Matienzo to his Majesty informing him of the arrival at Seville of the ship *San Antonio*, and as to what its crew say about the reason for returning, Seville, May, 1521. Doc. 103, Letter from Bishop Fonseca to the House of Trade, directing that the ship *San Antonio* be delivered over to Don Juan de Velasco, June 30, 1521. Doc. 104, Inventory of

the rigging, arms, artillery, and other appurtenances of the ship *San Antonio*, and resolution taken by the officials of the House of Trade on delivering over the ship over to Don Juan de Velasco, Seville, July 12, 1521. Doc. 105, Book of the treaties of peace and friendship made with the kings of the Moluccas, [Moluccas], September-December, 1521. Doc. 106, Royal cédula directing that Esteban Gómez's pay as pilot be given him, and that his effects be placed in deposit until the rendering of a decision as to what shall be done with those who returned in the ship *San Antonio*, Burgos, October 4, 1521. Doc. 107, Royal cédula directing that the cargo brought by the ship *San Antonio* be delivered to Cristóbal de Haro and their value be spent in the preparation for the despatching of the new fleet which is being fitted up to continue the discovery of the Spicery, Burgos, October 4, 1521. Doc. 108, Power of attorney given by Cristóbal de Haro in favor of Diego Díaz, authorizing him to take charge of the cargo of the ship *San Antonio*, Burgos, October 4, 1521. Doc. 109, Instructions to Captain Juan Nicolás de Artieta directing him to build three ships, which are to be sent to the Moluccas fleet, Burgos, December 7, 1521. Doc. 110, Note of the goods taken by the Portuguese from the ship *Trinidad* in the Moluccas, Tidore, December 16, 1521. Doc. 111, Expenses incurred by Cristóbal de Haro, factor of the House of Trade, from the moneys received by him for the despatch of the fleets, September 20, 1521-January 10, 1528. Doc. 112, Royal cédula addressed to Nicolás de Grimaldo relative to the delivery of a certain sum to the Bishop of Burgos to spend on the fleet, which is now being prepared for the continuation of the discovery of the Spicery, Vitoria, May 6, 1522. Doc. 113, Inventory of the cargo of the ship *San Antonio*, of which Diego Díaz took charge in the name of Cristóbal de Haro, Seville, May 8, 1522. Doc. 114, Letter from Cortés to his Majesty discussing the importance of the discovery of the South Sea, Cuyuacan, May 15, 1522. Doc. 115, Log of Magellan's voyage from the Cape of San Agustín in Brazil until the return of the ship *Victoria* to Spain, written by Francisco Albo, September, 1522. Doc. 116, Several papers containing information relative to the goods on the ship *Victoria*, its arms, ammunition, etc., September 1522. Doc. 117, Relation of all who died on the Magellan expedition, September 1522. Doc. 118, Pay given to the members of Magellan's fleet until the return of the ship *Victoria* to Seville, [Seville], September, 1522. Doc. 119, Rigging, arms, and artillery of the ship *Victoria*, which were taken charge of by the accountant Domingo de Ochandiano, Seville, September 12-Octo-

ber 14, 1522. Doc. 120, Royal cédula directing the officials of the House of Trade to send all the books and documents made at the time of the despatch of Magellan's fleet, Valladolid, October 10, 1522. Doc. 121, Royal cédula to the same directing that they deliver to Cristóbal de Haro all the cloves brought from the Moluccas in the ship *Victoria* and keep samples of the spices, Valladolid, October 10, 1522. Doc. 122, Royal cédula to the same directing that the amount of pay still due Pedro de Alva, a Portuguese pilot, be given him, October 10, 1522. Doc. 123, Royal cédula directing that the samples of drugs and spices brought by the ship *Victoria* be delivered to Cristóbal de Haro, in order that he might send them to certain persons, Valladolid, October 17, 1522. Doc. 124, Power of attorney from Haro in favor of Diego Díaz, authorizing the latter to get the cloves on the ship *Victoria*, and receipt given in Seville for them, Valladolid, October 17-Seville, November 14, 1522. Doc. 125, Judicial inquiry before the alcalde of Valladolid, Díaz de Leguizamo, relative to several occurrences during the voyage of Magellan's fleet, Valladolid, October 18, 1522. Doc. 126, Weight of the sacks of cloves brought by the ship *Victoria* and delivered to Diego Díaz, factor for Cristóbal de Haro, Seville, November 6, 1522.

Of these interesting documents, thirteen had been previously published, several in part only or in abstract, while the remainder had existed only in manuscript form, although it is more than likely that they have been used by authors of the period. The documents published heretofore are as follows: nos. 87, 90, 99, 100, 115, and 125, by Navarrete and Medina; nos. 93, 117, and 118, by Medina; no. 94, by Llorens Asensio; no. 101, by Pastells in his edition of Colin and by Llorens Asensio; no. 102, by Pastells (fragment); no. 105, by Navarrete (abstract), and Pastells (fragments). The published documents have been drawn upon frequently in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands*. There is a paucity of annotation, as in the other volumes, notes being limited to five and being bibliographical in character rather than historical. In the first note the editor confesses that he had some doubt as to whether doc. 89 properly belonged to this collection, but finally admitted it in accordance with the opinion of a student of the period who thought that it had been sent to the king or his council as showing that Portugal was trying to anticipate the Spaniards in their discoveries. The second note explains that docs. 99 and 100 really form one document, and were so published by both Navarrete and Medina, but in order to preserve the originals as far as possible, they

were published as two documents. It is explained that the two parts of the document in the Archivo de Indias were evidently copied from an older original by two distinct persons, as shown by the difference in orthography. The editor of this series, by the way, who signs himself simply J. S. G. in the first volume, it has been ascertained is Sr. Don Jose Sánchez Garrigos, the librarian of the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. It might not be amiss to mention also that one of the members of the company who had been especially interested through his love of history and letters in the publication of this series, namely, the Conde de Churruca, has recently died.

The chief interest of the student will naturally center around the documents now published for the first time, and from which a more complete knowledge of the expedition of Magellan and its immediate aftermath can be obtained. The several documents treating of the expenses of the expedition are especially interesting and invite comparison with modern expeditions. In doc. no. 96, warning is given that "muchos pilotos hazen el dho viaje de q los tratantes e pasajeros e otras personas rresciben daño e los pasajes son mas largos e mas peligrosos por no saber levar los dhos navios", to obviate which examination before Cabot is necessary. In general, the documents are technical in character and furnish considerable information relative to the machinery of the expedition, and as such they are not without value for the economic history of the period.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A NEW FORM OF PAN-AMERICANISM: THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS

A great deal has been said within the last few years about a so-called exchange of students between the universities of the United States and Hispanic America. So far as I have been able to observe, these plans have been concerned only with the bringing of students from Hispanic America to the United States. They have not contemplated reciprocity: they have not included the sending of American students to the universities of Hispanic America. A reciprocal arrangement has recently been made by a few schools and the results of this experiment will be watched with great interest.

I am informed by Dr. Lord, Dean of the Boston University School of Business Administration, that the school he represents has opened a branch in Havana which will give an opportunity to Americans to study in Cuba. It is stated that this same institution will open other foreign branches. Georgetown University has recently announced a group of affiliated colleges in all parts of the world at which credit towards graduation will be given by the Georgetown Foreign Service School. Both of these plans contemplate undergraduate work along lines running parallel with the work done in the home institution.

The University of Notre Dame has recently inaugurated a system of exchange that contemplates the sending of graduates of the Department of Foreign Commerce to do advanced work in the Universities of Hispanic America, and the bringing of students from Hispanic America for either graduate or undergraduate work at Notre Dame. The first students to go to South America under this plan are Mr. John T. Balfe of Beacon, New York, who graduated from the University of Notre Dame in June, 1920, and entered the University of Buenos Aires in September, and Mr. John C. Powers of Urbana, Ohio, who will enter the Catholic University of Santiago, Chile, in March, 1921, in time for the opening of the fall term. Four students have come to Notre Dame under the plan: Mr. Manuel Vial, of the Catholic University of Santiago, who is working for the Doctorate in Civil Law; Mr. Ivan Pra Balmaceda of the same university, who is a

sophomore in Agriculture; Mr. Juan Pedro Scaron Pallares of the University of Montevideo, who is a sophomore in the Department of Electrical Engineering; and Mr. Edward W. Sullivan, from an English high school in Buenos Aires, who is a freshman in Foreign Commerce. Applications for further exchange next year are now receiving consideration.

While opinion as to the ultimate success of this plan is divided, it seems to be the belief of the majority of persons consulted that this exchange will have a very decided influence in the development of a new Pan Americanism. The objections to the plan fall under two main heads: First, it is feared by some that the young Americans who go to study in Hispanic America will fail on moral grounds; second, it is stated by others that it is impossible to superimpose the culture of one race upon the basic elements of another race.

The first objection might seem at first sight to have a sound basis. There is not a single commercial center of any importance in Hispanic America that has not traditions and often actual examples of young Americans who have gone into moral and intellectual decay, but I think that the causes for these shipwrecks can be found very readily and can be absolutely eliminated in the case of graduate students. These causes and their remedies may be summarized as follows:

1. Lonesomeness. The young American away from home for the first time finds himself in what he feels to be a hostile social atmosphere, and he finds consolation in drink and its attendant vices. An American college man with a knowledge of Spanish and armed with good letters of introduction, will be admitted quite freely into the best native society, and will be just as safe, if not safer, from a dangerous moral environment than he would be in a metropolitan center at home.

2. Idleness. Idle hours are most dangerous, and are often a pitfall for the young American business man in South America. The student can have his full time occupied whether through business employment during the hours he is free from class or through research work in history or some other line for which there are excellent facilities available. Perhaps a combination of business employment and research work is the ideal one.

3. Bad example and bad counsel. Certainly the American college man should be able to use sound judgment in picking his friends among the English-speaking colony and avoid those whose failure seeks companionship among new arrivals. The student will be especially

independent of this sort of influence if he concentrates his attention upon good native society, and he will be a much more successful business man later for having cultivated this social contact.

The college that pays no attention to character training is certainly false to its trust and is receiving tuition under false pretenses. I like to feel that most American educators have a keen sense of their responsibility in this matter, have a realization of the fact that the discipline of the will is a more important function of education than the discipline of the intellect. And any college that fulfills its duty towards its students in the matter of character training will send out men who are above the temptations that have wrecked the career of other Americans abroad.

The college also has a special duty, I believe, to select for study such subjects as will best prepare the student for an appreciation of the culture of the country in which he expects to reside. In South America especially one finds a tendency to a broad cultural education more common among the better class of business men than is the case in the United States. The merchant there wants to be able to think of something besides business outside of business hours. Literature, music, art, historical study, economics, and world politics, claim their devotees among the business men of South America, who feel that their business minds lose nothing of their clearness through these elevating distractions. The same sort of appreciation, and some sort of international viewpoint may be instilled into the American student while he is still in college, and if he is wise he will be very glad to have two or three points of contact with his future customer instead of one, and that the very material one of business.

The second objection has practically been answered in considering the remedies for the first, but it deserves a word of special comment. It may be a difficult and tedious process to superimpose the culture of one race upon the basic stock of another, but we know from history that it has been accomplished time and again. However, the plan of the University of Notre Dame does not contemplate any such a radical change. It proposes to give to the college graduate an enthusiastic appreciation of Hispanic American culture and thus form a nucleus of enlightened Americans who will counteract decisively the influence of thoughtless persons who have done so much harm to our interests in South America by inflicting unkind, unjust, and very often malignant, criticism. It is hoped that the formation of a group of this sort will have a strong influence towards overcoming the provincialism which

has been so much of an obstacle to our development of friendly relations abroad.

On the positive side, I believe that many advantages will result from the exchange of students. The American boys who go to South America will perfect themselves in Spanish, will gain more thorough knowledge of South American industrial and commercial opportunities than they could gain by a hundred years of study at home, will learn the point of view and the business psychology of the South American merchant, will be better Americans for their broader knowledge of Americans foreign relations, and will be towers of strength for American business. If such an exchange of American students had been made a working corollary of the beginning of diplomatic relations with Hispanic America a hundred years ago, the Monroe Doctrine and Pan Americanism would now be so solidly established that no non-American power could hope for any advantages on American soil without the consent of the United States of America.

The presence of these young men in South America will have a wonderful effect upon the regard of the South Americans for us. Speaking frankly, the South Americans regard us as barbarians so far as culture and the finer things of life are concerned. They know us only as wonderful inventors, geniuses for manufacturing and industrial organization, and colossi of business. It is our fault that they have this unfavorable impression of us. We have shown them only the more material and less favorable side of our character. The only news from the United States that we used to receive in South American countries referred to such items as powder explosions, murders, divorce statistics, tall buildings, attempts to ride Niagara Falls, lynchings, anti-trust activities of the Supreme Court, and speeches on the Monroe Doctrine. They knew that we paid large sums of money to Caruso and other operatic stars, but they felt that this was shallow mimicry of the *nouveau riche* and they laughed at what they considered our clumsy essays in culture.

The South American social fabric is more closely woven than our own, and the presence of a cultured group of college men from the United States in university centers will have a profoundly pleasing effect. The students will be gossiped about at every tea and reception of the university set, and since the professors of the universities are generally men holding high positions in law or politics, the university set has a more influential position in high society than is usually the case in our large cities. The people will be prepared for favorable

impressions because the idea of sending young men to learn from them is a gracious compliment. The students will have it in their power to correct many, if not all, the misunderstandings into which our relations have blundered during the past hundred years.

Students who come to the United States from South America will always absorb a satisfactory amount of Americanism and will confirm the good work done by our own students. A high official of the Argentine Government told me recently that the average Argentine who spends some time in the United States becomes a most enthusiastic lover of our institutions and admirer of our culture, even when his previous training has been antagonistic to such impressions. He said that in the case of the United States and Germany, a residence of considerable time was necessary to gain this effect. He himself was educated in Germany and is now an enthusiastic admirer of most things German. He said further that the opposite holds true in the case of France, where the first pleasant impression is more superficial, and is likely to be spoiled by too prolonged a residence.

Four years spent in an American college should be sufficient to fix an appreciation of American ideals in the mind of the South American, and it might not be wise to prolong the residence of the student more than this time, because to prolong an absence from home gives rise to another objection which has been formulated by several members of the governments of Peru, Chile and Argentine. Their fear is that the student will lose contact with his friends if he remains too long away from home, and will find himself isolated when he begins his business or political career at home.

All in all, I believe that the plan inaugurated this summer has everything to commend it and will result in the formation of a generation of Americanists who will assure the future of Pan Americanism.

JOHN F. O'HARA, C.S.C.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ARGENTINA

It has been stated so many times of late that the interest and welfare of one country is the concern of all that one hesitates in making so prosaic a statement. However, it is so clearly shown in some specific cases today, that it well merits a rating as a classical expression. Argentina is an example of a country that has recorded world-trade conditions almost as sensitively as a barometer records pressure. In fact that country has almost at times seemed a barometer of world-trade

conditions. This is true for two reasons. First, Argentina depends upon foreign capital for the production of raw materials within its boundaries, and also to move these commodities from its farms and industrial centers to foreign markets. Second, Argentina's prosperity depends upon the sale of its products abroad and any dull periods in the foreign demand is certain to record a depression in home industries.

During the war the increased demands made upon Argentina for such products as wool, wheat, hides and skins, and foodstuffs, created an enlarged export balance and prosperity was the natural result. This continued after the war, but as is usually true with all postwar prosperity its strength was certain to be spent within a short time. The latter part of May, 1919, a world trade depression began and almost simultaneously a depression in the trade of Argentina was recorded. Gold deposits abroad were drawn down, exports decreased, and exchange which had previously been favorable began to decline rapidly. In the short space of five months Argentina's exchange on the American market dropped from a two per cent premium to a twenty-five per cent discount. The stringency in the money markets of foreign countries curtailed the flow of capital to Buenos Aires and the result was shown both by a decrease in production and a sluggish flow of commodities. Argentina's recovery depends upon improved money conditions abroad and increased demands for its products.

EDWIN BATES.

South America is overstocked with goods it cannot pay for but not with goods it does not need, according to my view of the matter. Exchange started going against South America just as soon as we rectified our unfavorable trade balance by shipping gold. The bottom fell out of their market for raw materials in this country and they were forced to pay a premium of from thirty to fifty per cent on the dollar. It seems to me that there are two ways of rectifying this. The first is to wait for the natural laws of economics to work out and settle the trade balance, and the second is to make permanent investments in South America that will absorb the surplus of the trade balance.—JOHN F. O'HARA, C. S. C.

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Washington, December 27-30, 1920, the afternoon session of the last day was devoted to "Pan American Political and Diplomatic Relations". This was a joint session of the above mentioned association

and the American Political Science Association, and was held at the Pan American building. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, director of the Pan American Union, papers were read as follows:

"Recent Constitutional Changes in Latin America", Herman G. James, University of Texas.

"The Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding", Julius Klein, Harvard University.

"Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations", Manoel de Oliveira Lima, Catholic University of America.

The last two papers will appear in a future issue of this REVIEW. The papers were discussed by a number of those present.

During the meeting one of the group luncheons was for those interested in Hispanic American history. This was presided over by Dr. William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, who spoke eloquently on Hispanic America and the League of Nations, and there was an attendance of over 60. Among speakers were Dr. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, of Peru, Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, formerly of Brazil, now of Washington, Dr. Bolton, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Dr. Chapman, Dr. Mary W. Williams, and others.

A Congress of Geography and History will meet at Seville in the spring. It is understood that various of the Hispanic American countries will be represented, especially Argentina and Colombia. It is hoped that the United States will send many delegates. This is an important occasion and should be taken advantage of by all American nations. It would have been very fitting had the opening date been set for La Fiesta de la Raza. It is suggested that institutions of the United States which wish to be represented, but can not send a delegate, consider the appointment of Miss I. A. Wright to act as such. She has the advantage of being on the field.

Peru has issued a call for the third Pan American Scientific Congress to be held at Lima, during the month of July, 1921.

A group of Stanford Alumni who have had business experience in Mexico, have, in coöperation with Stanford University and the National University of Mexico, established an annual inter-collegiate debate in Mexico for the "Medal of Stanford University". The debate, which is open to students of the schools of Jurisprudence of the Mexican Republic, will be held each year in the City of Mexico during the

month of July. It is to be an extempore discussion modeled on the annual Joffre debate between Stanford and the University of California. The subject debated each year must relate to Hispanic American countries and to the relation between these countries and the United States, the purpose of the debates being "to encourage the study of problems of Hispanic American countries and of the relation of those countries to each other and to the United States, and to bring about a better understanding between them". The leader in the enterprise is V. R. Garfias, who graduated from Stanford in 1907, and who was afterward a professor in the Geology and Mining Department. He has also been actively connected with mining engineering projects in Mexico. A group of other Stanford men, geologists, and mining engineers, who have also carried on engineering enterprises in Mexico, have established a fund, the interest of which will furnish the annual gold "Medal of Stanford University", and provide for printing and distributing the speech of the winner of the debate. The design for this medal is now being completed. The specific topic for discussion each year will be announced only two hours before the debate and the contestants will be assigned their side of the debate at the same time. These contestants will be selected through a series of preliminary debates to be held three days before the final contest. The speech of the winner each year, and of such others as may be considered worthy of it, will be published in English and in Spanish by Stanford University and distributed to the Universities and centers of culture of Mexico, North America, and other countries.—PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Six scholarships, each for \$600, have been founded by the regents of the University of Texas for Mexicans students who will study in the above named University. Five students have already been appointed, namely: Ruperto de León of Piedras Negras; Ramón Beteta, Roberto Córdova, and Elan Escobar, of Mexico City; and Sabas Ricardez, of Tabasco. All these young men have entered the freshman class. Ruperto de León is a graduate of San Antonio High School. The second and third above named have studied in the College of Laws which forms part of the University of Mexico. The other two have been students at the Normal School at Coyoacan. It is thought that scholarships will also be established by the Mexican government so that students from the United States may have the same advantage. This exchange of students between the two countries should be developed in other institutions.

A recent number of *Hispania* contains an interesting article by Dr. Guillermo A. Sherwell, describing the trip of a party of students of Georgetown University under his direction to the West Indies and Venezuela. It seems to the present writer that the plan conceived and executed by Georgetown University might well be extended by coöperation of the universities of this country in the organization of yearly excursion trips for such students of Spanish as could afford the expense or whose expense might be borne by special funds, scholarships, etc. The development of such a yearly pilgrimage—a sort of *peregrinatio ad loca sancta*—could become a most valuable factor, not only in practical instruction, linguistic and commercial, but also in promoting by actual contact a real acquaintance with our southern neighbors that should produce positive results in improving and establishing American relations. The development of the plan initiated by the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University and successfully directed by Dr. Sherwell seems thoroughly worthy of consideration by the Association of University Presidents, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, and all other organizations and agencies interested in this field.—C. K. JONES.

Don Antonio Gómez Izquierdo, representative of the Centro Mercantil of Buenos Aires, has published a patriotic article setting forth the fact that during the war, Spanish commerce was a very important source of supply for South America along certain lines and that in spite of the short time which has elapsed since the war, Spain has already lost a great many of those markets, especially the Argentine markets, because Spanish commerce has not known how to conserve the advantages thrown in its way. It is the opinion of Sr. Gómez Izquierdo that now is the opportune time for Spain to regain those markets and that in any effort made, it will be able to count upon the sincere coöperation of the Hispanic-American countries. He points out that the first step necessary for this economic reconquest should be the inauguration of fairs and expositions of Spanish products. These should be coincident in time with the projected visit of His Majesty Alfonso XIII to South America, and would thereby contribute to the regeneration of Spain's commercial, as well as political and social, influence in Hispanic America, which is indispensable for the aggrandizement of those countries and of Spain.—CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM.

The press of Spain is enthusiastic over the news that five Spanish speaking Republics of Central America have formed a single State which is to be known internationally as the United States of Central America. The *A. B. C.* states that Spain had often feared for the independence and liberty of these small republics on account of their dangerous proximity to the United States. After the triumph of Mr. Harding, who, this paper states, is an advocate of the Monroe Doctrine in its most egoistic interpretation, the fears of Spain for these republics had more foundation than ever. These five Republics, conscious of this danger, form a blockade to stop the encroachment of the new conquering nation. The United States of Central America form a solid opposition to the economic, diplomatic, or territorial annexation projected by the Anglo-Saxons. "These Republics will be the guardians of the heritage given by Spain to the peoples of the New Continent, to whom she gave life and civilization. The language, traditions, and the moral virtues of Spanish America which have resisted all the influences of migration of these centuries, are made more than ever secure by the barrier formed by Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica against the invasion from the North. This Confederation safeguards each of these Republics and guarantees its future. United, they will be strong enough to defend themselves and in international relations where nothing counts but numbers, they will acquire a personality which they did not have in their isolation." The enthusiasm is somewhat dampened, says this paper, by the fact that all of the Central American republics have not joined this Confederation, for instance Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama. However, the confederation of these five republics proves to skeptics that the dream of a united Spanish America is not entirely a Utopian dream, for this is only the beginning. The rest may soon come into the Confederation, which shall extend from the Mexican Frontier to Tierra de Fuego, in which each Republic shall preserve its autonomy and yet be united to the others by common origin, language, and by the necessity of defending themselves against Anglo-Saxon imperialism, now more formidable than ever since the European War has left the nations of Europe too weak to oppose Monroism.

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, gave a series of lectures in the Lowell Institute, Boston, during the last of last year and the first part of the present year. Dr. Bolton's subject was concerned with the Spanish colonization in America.

A new college of commerce and business training has been authorized by the Peruvian government in accordance with a recent law for complete reorganization of Peru's educational system. It will be located in Lima and is expected to begin work during the coming year. This new college will be organized along typically American lines, and will be affiliated with some of the leading institutions of higher business education in the United States. The aim of the Peruvian Ministry of Public Instruction is to have the work developed along practical lines which will aid in the growth of Peru's business and industries. Dr. W. E. Dunn, recently manager of the New York export office of Simmons Hardware Company will be director of the new school. He has had excellent training for the post, combining academic scholarship with practical business. After six years of university teaching experience he became assistant chief of the Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in Washington, and was later in charge of the Latin American Section of the *New York Sun and Herald*. During the last Pan American Commercial and Financial Congress he acted as secretary of the Colombian group committee. Dr. Dunn has written several books and monographs on Hispanic American subjects as well as a number of articles on foreign-trade topics.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, accompanied Governor Hobby's party, as the delegate of the University, to the inauguration of President Obregón. The expenses of the whole party from San Antonio to Mexico City and return were borne by the Mexican Government, and the delegates were treated sumptuously during the entire time. Opportunity was given the party to see something of the economic conditions of Mexico. The *Galveston Daily News* of December 18 states that the only outside invitation accepted by President Obregón during the inauguration period was that to the luncheon given by the Texans at Chapultepec Café. President Obregón sent a delegation under General Treviño to attend the inauguration ceremonies of Governor Neff, the Governor of Texas, which were held in January of this year. General Treviño made a brief address upon the occasion of the inauguration, which was reproduced in full in the *Austin American* of January 19.

One of the two essays to gain honorable mention from the Military History Prize Commission was that by Professor W. P. Webb, of the

University of Texas, entitled "The Texas Rangers in the Mexican War". The prize was awarded to Mr. Thomas Robson Hay, of Pittsburgh for his essay, entitled "Hood's Tennessee campaign". The other essay to gain honorable mention was "What happens in battle", by Captain J. N. Greeley, General Staff, U. S. A.—MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Mr. Henry P. Dart, of the New Orleans law firm of Dart, Kernan and Dart, who is interested in the preservation of the old Louisiana French and Spanish documents, notes in a recent letter that the work of sorting out the material which has lain unmolested in boxes for some fifty or sixty years has been begun with the aid of two assistants. These documents consist almost entirely of the records of litigation during the French and Spanish régimes, being practically all law documents. They are very valuable from the legal, as well as from the historical, standpoint. Mr. Dart published a number of these documents, both in the original language and in English translation, together with some comment by himself in a recent number of the *Louisiana Historical Journal*.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin, of Leland Stanford Jr. University, will give the Albert Shaw lectures on Diplomacy at Johns Hopkins University during the first two weeks in May, 1921. The lectures will deal with the general topic of Hispanic America and the war.

Mr. Philip Ainsworth Means was installed as the Director del Museo Nacional de Arqueología of Peru on November 22, 1920. In his new office, Mr. Means contemplates plenty of work. Among the many tasks which he is finding to do, are the rearrangement of the valuable collection in such a manner that it will clearly show the chronological development of the ancient Peruvian cultures; the making of a good technical catalogue of the collection; and the publication of a number of monographs by competent Peruvian investigators and others on the various aspects of Peruvian archaeology. The Museum has the apparatus for printing its own publications.

Arthur S. Aiton and J. Lloyd Mechem, who have been doing research work in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, as holders of the fellowships founded by the Native Sons of the Golden West, are finishing their work and are making preparations to leave Seville. The first has been work-

ing on "New Spain, 1535-1550", and the second on "The Northern Frontier of New Spain in the later Sixteenth Century".—I. A. WRIGHT.

Dr. Rómulo S. Naón, former ambassador for Argentina to the United States, is now a member of the law firm of Naón, Iriondo & Beccar Varela. This firm and the firm of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost & Colt have lately become consolidated for the practice of law in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Dr. Manuel M. de Iriondo was former Minister of Finance of Argentina, and Dr. Horacio Beccar Varela was former Director General of Justice in Argentina. The office of this unique law firm will be located in Buenos Aires. The firm will still maintain a New York office and a Brazilian office. The latter office will be in charge of Frederick A. Whitney, Dr. J. M. Macdowell da Costa, Dr. Paulino J. Soares de Souza Neto, and Dr. Cumplido de Sant'Anna.

Professor Henry Pittier, formerly with the Department of Agriculture of the United States, has been for the last three years in Venezuela, where he has made an ecological map of great value. Accompanying the map is an excellent pamphlet descriptive of various economic factors of Venezuela. Both map and pamphlet are in Spanish, and are published by the Venezuelan government.

James A. Robertson will conduct a seminar on the history of the Philippine Islands at the University of North Carolina, during the week of March 6-12. He will also give several public addresses and talks.

It may not be amiss to mention that Miss Irene A. Wright, well known for her writings on Cuban history, is in Seville making investigations in the Archivo General de Indias. Scholars who require research and copying in Spanish archives, but who can not do the actual work themselves because of other more pressing duties, will probably be able to make arrangements with Miss Wright to lend her good offices to them. Miss Wright has recently been engaged by the Netherlands government to make researches among the documents in Seville relative to Dutch activity in Hispanic America beginning with the late sixteenth century.

Dr. Estanislao S. Zeballos, former Argentine minister to the United States, three times minister of foreign affairs in Argentina, professor of private international law at the University of Buenos Aires, and editor

of the greatest South American paper, *La Prensa*, has recently published the third and fourth volumes of his important work, *La Nationalité*, the publication of which had been interrupted by the war. With these two volumes this excellent work is brought to a close. In this work, originally written in French, Dr. Zeballos, who is not only one of the most remarkable statesmen but also one of the most successful lawyers of South America, deals exhaustively with the problems of nationality in the New World. Besides this he is the author of over one hundred volumes and pamphlets, which treat especially of law, history, sociology, and diplomacy—a remarkable and excellent output. In addition to this, his wellknown *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras*, which has been published for thirty-two years with the greatest of punctuality, contains essays of importance written by him, political notes on domestic and foreign policy, excellent bibliographical material, and reviews of all books received by the *Revista*.—MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

(*Continuation*)

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pts. 1-7. 27 cm.
5. pte. América, tierras antárticas y océanos.
557. Montt, Luis. Bibliografía chilena, precedida de un bosquejo histórico sobre los primeros años de la prensa en el país. Tomo II. 1812-1817. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1904.
xx, 499 p., 2 l. 5 facsim. (incl. front.) 26 cm.
"Los pliegos impresos (264 p.) del tomo I, que debían rehacerse según las intenciones del Señor Montt fueron vendidos por la imprenta como papel inútil, y los del 3. (160 p.) se quemaron en el incendio que destruyó la Imp. universitaria en 1909". Laval, no. 230.
558. Muñoz Olave, Reinaldo. Las monjas trinitarias de Concepción, 1570-1822; relato histórico, Santiago de Chile, Impr. de San José, 1918.
ix, [11]-272 p. 19 cm.

559. ——— Rasgos biográficos de eclesiásticos de Concepción, 1552-1818. Santiago de Chile, Impr. "San José", 1916.
2 p. l., [3]-548 p., 1 l. 20 cm.
560. Nieto del Rfo, Félix. La alta prensa diaria en Chile. (*In Cuba contemporánea*, Habana, 1918. 26 cm. v. xvi, p. [303]-309.)
561. Núñez Olaechea, Samuel. Los ferrocarriles del estado. 1. Reseña histórica. 2. Esplotación. 3. Diccionario biográfico. Santiago de Chile, Impr. i. encuadernación, Chile, 1910.
328 p., 1 l. front. (port.) 26 cm.
562. Phillips, Philip Lee. A list of books, magazine articles, and maps relating to Chile. Comp. for the International bureau of the American republics. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1903.
110 p. 23 cm.
563. Ponce, Manuel Antonio. Bibliografía pedagógica chilena (anotaciones). Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1902.
xii, 307, [1] p. 27 cm.
665 titles, classified "en seis secciones cronológicas . . . pedagogía jeneral, sistemática (organización escolar jeneral e interna), metodología, legislación, historia de la enseñanza i periódicos profesionales."
564. ——— Reseña histórica de la enseñanza de lectura en Chile (siglos xvi-xix). Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1905.
135 p. pl.
A complete inventory of readers and spellers without indication of size and number of pages. Cf. Laval, no. 257.
565. Porter, Carlos E. Bibliografía chilena de antropología y etnología. Trabajo presentado al 4° Congreso científico (1° Pan-Americano). Con un prólogo de Ricardo E. Latcham. Ed. del autor. Buenos Aires, Impr. "Juan A. Alsina", 1910. 44 p.
Anales del Museo nacional de Buenos Aires, t. xx, ser. 3, t. xiii.
Continued by Latcham in *Revista de bibliografía chilena y extranjera*, t. II, p. 49-52. Cf. Laval (nos. 258-274) for a list of Porter's bibliographical contributions.
566. ——— Bibliografía chilena de ciencias antropológicas. Santiago, Imprenta "Santiago", 1912.
62 p.
567. ——— Catálogo razonado de los trabajos histórico-naturales hechos desde enero de 1894 hasta junio de 1905. Valparaíso, Impr. Gillet, 1905.
32 p. illus., port. 23½ cm.
568. ——— Ensayo de una bibliografía chilena de historia natural. Valparaíso, Impr. Gillet, 1900.
68 p.
From *Revista Chilena de historia natural*.
569. ——— Literatura antropológica y etnológica de Chile. Santiago, 1906.
36 p.

570. Real y Prado, Julio. Boletín bibliográfico de la Librería de Julio Real y Prado, Valparaíso, 1875-79.
23 nos.
"Sin embargo de ser catálogo de librería, contiene datos interesantes sobre publicaciones chilenas, que difícilmente se hallarán en otra parte". Laval, no. 280.
571. Reiche, Karl Friedrich. Grundzüge der pflanzenverbreitung in Chile. Leipzig, W. Engelmann, 1907.
xiv, 374 p. plates, maps. 26 cm. (Die vegetation der erde, hrsg. von A. Engler und O. Drude, VIII.)
"Literarische hilfsquellen": p. 1-47.
Lists 627 publications.
572. Revista de bibliografía chilena y extranjera. Publicada mensualmente por la Sección de informaciones de la Biblioteca nacional. año 1- enero 1913- Santiago de Chile, Imprenta universitaria, 1913-.
v. 1-. 22 cm.
Valuable not only for current bibliography but for the special bibliographies it contains.
573. Santiago de Chile. R. Audiencia. Catálogo del Archivo de la Real audiencia de Santiago. Santiago de Chile, Impr. Barcelona, 1898-11.
v. 1-3. 25½ cm.
574. Santiago de Chile. Biblioteca nacional. Anuario de la prensa chilena, pub. por la Biblioteca nacional. 1886-1913. Santiago de Chile, 1887-1914.
28 v. 24-28 cm.
Catalog of books deposited in the library under law of 1872; and, from 1891-1913 books by Chilean authors, or relating to Chile, published in other countries.
From 1892-1913 each volume, except 1895, contained an appendix of "publicaciones omitidas" from previous volumes. Musical compositions are entered in vols. for 1896-1900.
575. ——— Bibliografía general de Chile. Por Emilio Vaisse, jefe de sección en la Biblioteca nacional de Chile. t. 1. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta universitaria, 1915.
v. 1. 23 cm.
Reprinted from Revista de bibliografía chilena y extranjera.
CONTENTS.—1. pte. Diccionario de autores y obras (biobibliografía y bibliografía). t. 1. Bibliografía de bibliografías chilenas, por R. A. Laval. Diccionario: A-Barros Arana.
576. ——— Bibliografía musical. Composiciones impresas en Chile y composiciones de autores chilenos publicadas en el extranjero. 2. parte. 1886-1896. Santiago de Chile, Estab. poligráfico Roma, 1848.
89 p.
Prepared by Ramón A. Laval, and reprinted from Anuario de la prensa chilena, 1896.
The first part has not been published.
577. ——— Boletín. no. 1-92; oct. 31, 1901- julio a dic. de 1913. Santiago de Chile, 1901-[13?].
92 nos. plates, ports., fold. facsim., diagrs. 25 cm.
Monthly, Oct. 1901-Dec. 1902; irregular, 1903-13.
Publication suspended during 1907.
578. ——— Catálogo alfabético i por materias de las obras que contiene la Biblioteca nacional Egaña de Santiago de Chile. Santiago, Impr. de la Sociedad Egaña, 1860.
149 p. tab. 32 cm.
The collection of Mariano Egaña, containing some 9000 volumes, was acquired by the Biblioteca nacional in 1846.

579. ——— Catálogo de la exposición retrospectiva de la prensa chilena, abierta el 13 de febrero de 1912 en conmemoración del centenario de la "Aurora de Chile". 2. ed., corr. y aum. [Santiago de Chile] Imprenta universitaria, 1912.
75 p. 25½ cm.
CONTENTS.—Incunables chilenos, o sea primeros trabajos tipográficos hechos en el país.—La "Aurora de Chile".—Periódicos publicados en Santiago hasta el año 1826.—Primeros periódicos fundados en cada una de las demás ciudades, pueblos y comunas.—Revistas y anuarios principales (1821-1912).—Publicaciones periódicas en idioma extranjero.—Periódicos de caricatura.—Diarios y periódicos con más de 25 años de duración—Epocas de las guerras de 1879 y 1891.—Periódicos chilenos impresos en el extranjero.—Bibliografía concerniente a la introducción de la imprenta en Chile, etc.
Prepared by Enrique Blanchard-Chessi.
580. ——— Catálogo de la sección americana. América en general. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta universitaria, 1902.
1 p. l., 152, [2] p. 25 cm.
581. ——— Catalogo de los manuscritos relativos a los antiguos Jesuitas de Chile que se custodian en la Biblioteca nacional. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Ercilla, 1891.
4 p. l., 543 p. 24 cm.
Compiled by José Manuel Frontaura y Arana. 2752 items.
582. ——— Catalogo por orden alfabético de los libros que contiene la Biblioteca nacional de Santiago de Chile. Santiago, Impr. de la Sociedad, 1854.
216 p. 28 cm.
583. Santiago de Chile. Instituto pedagógico. Catálogo de la biblioteca del Instituto pedagógico. (*In Memoria del Ministerio de justicia e instrucción pública.* 1896. p. 72-196.)
584. Santiago de Chile. Universidad católica. Biblioteca de la Universidad católica de Santiago. Santiago de Chile, Impr. de E. Perez L., 1902.
227 p., 1 l. 25½ cm.
585. ——— Bodas de plata de la Universidad católica de Santiago y proclamación de los premios a sus alumnos, 1888-1913. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Chile, 1913.
3 p. l., [3]-102 p. ports., diagr. 26 cm.
"Personal directivo y docente desde su fundación en 1888 hasta 1913": p. 47-55.
"Nómina de los alumnos que han recibido el título profesional": p. 57-69.
586. Santiváñez, José María. Rasgos biograficos de Adolfo Ballivián. Santiago [de Chile] Impr. de "La República" de J. Núñez, 1878.
1 p. l., iii, [3]-145, 19 p. 24½ cm.
"Escritos de don Adolfo Ballivián": Apéndice, p. [3]-19.
587. Schuller, Rodolfo R. El vocabulario araucano de 1642-1643, con notas críticas i algunas adiciones a las bibliografías de la lengua mapuche. Santiago de Chile, Impr. Cervantes, 1907.
2 p. l., [3]-286 p. pl., fold. map, facsims. 27 cm.

588. Silva Arriagada, Luis Ignacio. La novela en Chile. Santiago de Chile, Impr. y encuadernación "Barcelona", 1910.
4 p. l., [3]-523 p., 1 l. illus. (ports.) 19 cm. (Ensayos bibliográficos sobre la literatura chilena.)
CONTENTS.—1. pte. Novelas.—2. pte. Cuentos y artículos de costumbres.—3. pte. Miscelánea literaria, leyendas, tradiciones, histórico-literarias, etc. Addenda. Índice alfabético de autores y nombres citados en la obra.
589. Silva Catapos, Carlos. Lista de canónigos de la Iglesia catedral de Santiago, con breves datos biográficos desde el año 1563. [Santiago, Impr. de San José] 1916.
17 p. 24 cm.
590. Silva y Molina, Abraham de. Oidores de la Real audiencia de Santiago de Chile durante el siglo xvii. Santiago de Chile, Impr., Barcelona, 1903.
75 p. 26 cm.
Publicado en los Anales de la Universidad, t. cxiii, julio i agosto de 1903.
591. Suárez, José Bernardo. Rasgos biográficos de hombres notables de Chile. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta nacional, 1863.
290 p., 1 l. 16 cm.
60 biographies.
592. Sundt, Roberto. Bibliografía araucana. (In Revista de bibliografía chilena y extranjera. Santiago de Chile, 1917-18. 22 cm. t. 5, p. 300-315; t. 6, p. 3-21, 87-101, 182-213, 269-286.)
593. ——— Bibliografía dental chilena. Santiago, Imprenta universitaria, 1918.
66, [1] p.
Cited in Revista de bibl. chilena y extranjera, Sep.-Oct. 1918.
594. Thayer Ojeda, Luis. Apuntes genealógicos relativos a familias chilenas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta universitaria, 1911.
v. 1, 19 cm.
595. Thayer Ojeda, Tomás. Memoria histórica sobre la familia Álvarez de Toledo en Chile (Publicado en los Anales de la Universidad, t. cxiii). Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1903.
168 p., 1 l. 26½ cm.
596. ——— Santiago durante el siglo xvi. Constitución de la propiedad urbana i noticias biográficas de sus primeros pobladores. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1905.
249 p. plates. 24 cm.
Published in the Anales de la Universidad, 1905.
597. Toro Melo, David. Catálogo de los impresos que vieron la luz pública en Chile desde 1877 hasta 1885 inclusives. Santiago, Impr. "Gutenberg", 1893.
504 p.
"Comprende sólo la 1.ª parte: Libros y folletos, y cataloga 2453 piezas. No existen de esta publicación más de 5 ejes. formados con los pliegos que se reti raban de la imprenta a medida que se imprimían. El resto de la edición desapareció en el incendio que consumió el establecimiento que lo daba a luz en 1894".—Laval, no. 330.

598. Torres, José Antonio. *Oradores chilenos; retratos parlamentarios*. Santiago de Chile, Impr. de la Opinión, 1860.
vi, 189 p., 1 l. 21½ cm.
599. Valdivia, Luis de. *Nueve sermones en lengua de Chile reimpresos á plana y renglón del único ejemplar conocido y precedidos de una bibliografía de la misma lengua por José Toribio Medina*. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elseviriana [1897].
xvi, [17]-73, [2], 76 p., 1 l. 31½ cm.
The "Bibliografía" (p. 17-73) comprehends 101 titles.
600. Valenzuela, Pedro Armengol. *Los regulares en la iglesia y en Chile Roma*. Impr. tiberina de F. Setth, 1900.
512 p.
Contains bibliographical data regarding both printed works and manuscripts. Laval, no. 334.
601. Vega E., M. *Album de la colonie française au Chili*. Cette œuvre a pour but de faciliter le rapprochement des membres de la colonie; la faire connaître au dedans et au dehors du pays et démontrer par une scrupuleuse statistique le rôle important qu'elle remplit au Chili. Éditeur & propriétaire M. Vega E. Santiago de Chile, Impr. et lithogr. franco-chilienne, 1904.
4 p. l., 3-263, xxix p., 1 l. illus. (incl. ports.) 26½ cm.
2. ptie. Profils et biographies.—6. ptie. Guide général de la colonie française.
602. Venturino, Agustín. *Grandes familias chilenas descendientes de ingleses, franceses e italianos*. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta frano-chilena, G. Gregoire, 1918.
Cover-title. 12 p. 26 cm.
603. Vicuña Cifuentes, J. *Contribución a la historia de la imprenta en Chile*. Santiago, Impr. Cervantes, 1903.
50 p. pl.
"Tirada aparte de la Introducción que encabeza la reproducción paleográfica de la Aurora de Chile publicada en 1903".
604. Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamin. *Bibliografía completa de las obras de don B. Vicuña Mackenna*. (Única nómina completa, revisada i autorizada por el autor) Santiago de Chile, Imprenta del Centro editorial, 1879.
1 p. l., 15 p.
605. ———. *Bibliografía del general O'Higgins*. (In *La corona del héroe*. Recopilación de datos i documentos para perpetuar la memoria del general Don Bernardo O'Higgins. Santiago de Chile, 1872. 26 cm. p. 561-572.)
Laval, no. 341.
606. ———. *Catálogo de la biblioteca y manuscritos de D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1886.
281 p.
Prepared by Carlos Castro Ruiz.
The collection was acquired by the Biblioteca nacional in 1887.

607. Wagemann, Ernst. Die wirtschaftsverfassung der Republik Chile; zur entwicklungsgeschichte der geldwirtschaft und der papierwährung. München und Leipzig, Duncker & Humboldt, 1913.

vii, 253 p., 1 l. 24½ cm.

"Quellen und literatur": p. 238-246.

608. Zanelli López, Luisa. Mujeres chilenas de letras. Santiago, Imprenta universitaria, 1917.

4 p. 1., [7]-203 p., 2 l. port. 18 cm.

COLOMBIA

- 608a. Acosta, Joaquín. Compendio del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo decimo,sexto. 2. ed. Bogotá. Camacho Roldáu & Tamayo, 1901.

xvi, 296 p. 24½ cm.

"Catálogo de libros y manuscritos que se han tenido presentes al escribir este Compendio", p. 271-291.

609. Acosta de Samper, Soledad. Biografías de hombres ilustres o notables de la época del descubrimiento o colonización de Colombia. Bogotá, Impr. de "La Luz", 1883.

xvi, 447 p. 21 cm.

"Lista de las obras": p. [445]-447. 287 biographies.

610. Añez, Julio. Parnaso colombiano; colección de poesías escogidas, por Julio Añez. Estudio preliminar de D. José Rivas Groot: Bogotá, Camacho Roldán & Tamayo, 1886-87.

2 v. 20 cm.

With bio-bibliographical sketches.

611. Arango Mejía, Gabriel. Genealogías de las familias de Antioquia. [Medellén, Imprenta Editorial, 1911.]

Cover title, 5 l., 774, [1] p. 22 cm.

Half-title: Genealogías de Antioquia. Libro 1. Cabezas de familia. Contiene la lista de los fundadores de casi todas las familias antioqueñas de origen español que vinieron desde el año 1540 a-1810 a-establecerse a 'nuestras montañas.

Dates of birth and death not given.

612. Arboleda, Gustavo. Diccionario biográfico general del antiguo departamento del Cauca, colonia, independencia, república. Quito, Ecuador, J. I. Gálvez [1910].

cover-title, viii, 151 p. 24 cm.

613. ——— Historia contemporánea de Colombia (desde la disolución de la antigua república de ese nombre hasta la época presente). Bogota, Camacho Roldán y Tamayo [etc.] 1918.

v. 1. 25 cm.

Vol. 1, Fines de 1829—principios de 1841.

Contains much biographical information.

614. Arrieta, Diógenes A. Colombianos Contemporaneos, t. 1. Caracas, 1883.

615. Baraya, José María. *Biografías militares, o Historia militar del país en medio siglo*. Bogotá, Impr. de Gaitán [1874].
xvi, 288, 133 p. 24½ cm.
72 biographies.
616. Bogotá. Biblioteca nacional. *Catálogo de las obras existentes en la Biblioteca nacional*. Bogotá, Impr. de "El Neo-granadino, 1855-56.
4 v. 27 cm.
617. ————. *Catálogo de las obras hispano-americanas existentes en la Biblioteca nacional de Bogota*. Bogota, Imprenta de Zalamea hermanos, 1897.
2 p. l., 360 p. 24 cm.
618. ————. *Catálogo de los mapas, planos, cartas, hidrográficas &c, existentes en la Biblioteca nacional, formado por Saturnino Vergara*. 1881. (In *Anales de la instrucción pública en los Estados Unidos de Colombia*. Bogotá 1882. No. 16, enero de 1882, p. 456-466.)
619. ————. *Catálogos de periódicos y libros de la Biblioteca nacional de Bogota*. Edición oficial. Bogota, Imprenta nacional, 1914.
315 p. 24½ cm.
"Suplementos" classified, short titles, place and date, without indexes.
620. Bogotá, Colegio mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario. *Constituciones del Colegio mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, pub. por D. Rafael María Carrasquilla. Bogota, Medardo Rivas & c^ª-, 1893.
viii, 86 p. 24½ cm.
"Catálogo de los señores rectores del Colegio": (p. 67-80) gives full names and in most cases, dates.
621. Bogotá. Facultad de derecho y ciencias políticas. *Catálogo de la Biblioteca*. Bogotá, 1904.
622. *Boletín de la Librería Colombiana*. Bogotá, Camacho Roldán y Tamayo.
A useful trade list.
623. Borda, José Joaquín. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*. Poissy, S. Lejay et c^º, 1872.
2 v. front. (port.) 22 cm.
624. Colombia. Archivos nacionales. *Índice analítico, metódico y descriptivo por F. J. Vergara y Velasco*. Bogota, Imprenta nacional, 1913.
v. 1, 24 cm.
1. serie: La colonia, 1544-1819; t. 1. Gobierno en general; 1. v. Cedulario, Gobierno, Real audiencia, Virreyes.
625. Colombia. Ministerio de instrucción pública. *Revista de la instrucción pública de Colombia*. Bogotá.
"Lista de los libros y folletos recibidos en la Biblioteca nacional": v. 2, in no. 8-10, Aug.-Oct., 1893.
"Catálogo de las obras americanas existentes en la Biblioteca nacional": v. 3-5, in no. 16-22, 24, April-Oct., Dec., 1894; no. 25-27/28, Feb.-March and April, 1896.
"Catálogo de las obras hispano-americanas existentes en la Biblioteca nacional adicional al publicado e 1897": v. 10, in no. 59-60, 62-64, June-July, Sept.-Nov., 1899.

626. Colombianos contemporáneos. Los poetas. La lira nueva. Bogotá, 1886.
24, 417 p.
Blake's Bulletin, Apr. 1917.
627. Eder, P. J. Select bibliography [of Colombia]. (In Colombia, London, 1913, p. 289-301.)
Cited by Quelle, Verzeichnis wissenschaft. einrichtungen, zeitschriften und bibliographien der ibero-amerikan. kulturwelt.
628. Franco V., Constancio. Rasgos biográficos de los próceres y mártires de la independencia. Bogotá, Rivas, 1880.
[5], 288 p.
René-Moreno. Bib. boliviana, 1. sup., p. 257.
629. Gómez Restrepo, Antonio. La literatura colombiana. (In Revue hispanique. New York [etc.] 1918. 25 cm. t. xliii, p. 79-204.)
630. Los héroes y los mártires de la independencia. Bogotá, 1919. vi, 115 p. 22½ cm.
631. Ibáñez, Pedro M. La imprenta en Bogotá, desde su introducción hasta 1810. (In Revista literaria de Bogotá, nos. 7-8, Nov.-Dec., 1890; reprinted in La Gaceta municipal de Guayaquil, Aug. 13, and Oct. 1, 1898.)
632. ———. Memorias para la historia de la medicina en Santafe de Bogota. Bogotá, Impr. de Zalamea hermanos, 1884.
3 p. l., [5]-202, p. 23½ cm.
633. Isaza, Emiliano. Antología colombiana. París, México, V^{da} de Ch. Bouret, 1895-96.
2 v. 18 cm.
634. Laverde Amaya, Isidoro. Apuntes sobre bibliografía colombiana, con muestras escogidas en prosa y en verso. Con un apéndice que contiene la lista de las escritoras colombianas, las piezas dramáticas, novelas, libros de historia y de viajes escritos por colombianos (!) Bogotá, Impr. de Zalamea hermanos, 1882.
3 p. l., ii, viii, 240 p., 1 l., [3]-252, iii, [1] p. 21 cm.
"Seudónimos de colombianos": p. 237-240.
635. ———. Bibliografía colombiana. Tomo I. Bogotá, M. Rivas, 1895.
iv, 296 p. 24 cm.
No more published.
CONTENTS.—t. 1. Abadía Méndez-Ovalle.
636. ———. Fisonomías literarias de colombianos. Curazao, A. Bethencourt e hijos, 1890.
341 p., 1 l. 17½ cm.
637. León Gómez, Adolfo. Directorio general de los abogados de Colombia. Bogotá, 1899.
Cited in Catálogos de periódicos y libros de la Bib. nac. de Bogotá, 1914, p. 200.
638. Libro azul de Colombia. Blue book of Colombia. Bosquejos biográficos de los personajes más eminentes. Historia condensada de la república. [New York, The J. J. Little & Ives Co.] 1918. 4 p. l., 725 p. col. front., illus., ports., map. 31½ cm.
Spanish and English.

639. Llona, Numa Pompilio. Bosquejos de literatos colombianos. Bogotá, 1886.
640. Matute, Santiago. Los padres candelarios en Colombia, o Apuntes para la historia. Bogotá, Tip. de E. Pardo, 1897-1903.
6 v. plates, ports. 23½ cm.
641. Medina, José Toribio. La imprenta en Bogotá (1739-1821). Notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.
101 p., 1 l. 24 cm.
642. ———. La imprenta en Cartagena de las Indias (1809-1820). Notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.
70 p., 1 l. 24 cm.
643. Mesa Ortiz, Rafael M. Colombianos ilustres (estudios y biografías) con juicio de la Academia nacional de historia y prólogo de D. Antonio Gómez Restrepo. Bogotá, Impr. de "La República, 1916-19?
v. 1-3. ports. 26 cm.
644. París, Gonzalo. The young writers of Colombia. (In Inter-America. New York, 1919. 25½ cm. English, v. 2, p. [241]-248.)
Translated from Cuba Contemporánea, v. 19 (1919) p. 395-402.
645. Patiño, Alberto. Bibliografía dental colombiana. Bogotá, 1910.
Cited in Bib. nac., Catálogos, 1914, p. 293.
646. Pereira, Ricardo S. Documentos sobre limites de los Estados-Unidos de Colombia, copiados de los originales que se encuentran en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, y acompañados de breves consideraciones sobre el verdadero *Uti possidetis juris* de 1810. 1. serie: Limites entre el antiguo vireinato de la Nueva-Granada y las capitanías generales de Venezuela y Guatemala. Bogotá, C. Roldan y Tamayo, 1883.
3 p. l., xvi, 167, [1] p. fold. map, 22½ cm.
"Apéndice bibliográfico": p. [157]-161.
647. Pérez, Rafael. La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro-América después de su restauración. Valladolid, L. N. de Gaviria, 1896-98.
3 v. plates, ports. 23½ cm.
648. Pineda, Anselmo. Biblioteca del ex-coronel Pineda, 6 colección de publicaciones hechas en el Vireinato de Santa Fé y en las repúblicas de Colombia y Nueva Granada, desde 1774 á 1850, y de varios manuscritos nacionales, é impresos extranjeros, relacionados con los negocios de la república anteriores, contemporáneos y posteriores a la revolución de 1810. Bogotá, Imp. de El Tradicionista, 1872-73.
2 v.
Cited by Babcock, Reference list of bibliographies in Books and magazine articles received in the Columbus memorial library of the Pan American Union, Supp. 2, 1914, p. 124.
649. Posada, Eduardo. Bibliografía bogotána. Bogotá, Imp. Arboleda y Valencia, 1917.
v. 1. (Biblioteca de historia nacional, v. xvi.)
Vol. 1 contains all books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc. printed in Bogotá, from 1738 to 1820.

- 650** ———. *La imprenta en Santa Fé de Bogotá en el siglo xviii*. Madrid, V. Suárez, 1917.
2 pl. l., [vii]-xii, 153 p. facsim. 27½ cm.
88 publications are described, 1739-1800.
- 651.** Samper, José María. *Galería nacional de hombres ilustres ó notables; ó sea Colección de bocetos biográficos*, t. 1. Bogotá, 1879.
- 652.** Schumacher, Hermann A. *Südamerikanische studien; drei lebens—und cultur—bilder: Mutis, Caldas, Codazzi, 1760-1860*. Berlin, E. S. Mittler & sohn, 1884.
xiii, 559, [1] p. 23½ cm.
The "Anmerkungen" (p. 421-559) are of bio-bibliographical interest.
- 653.** Soto Borda, Clímaco. *Siluetas parlamentarias; Congreso nacional de 1896*. Corr. y aum.
Cited in Boletín de la Librería colombiana, May, 1920.
- 654.** Uribe Villegas, Gonzalo. *Los arzobispos y obispos colombianos desde el tiempo de la colonia hasta nuestros días*. Bogotá, Impr. de "La Sociedad", 1918.
3 p. l., [iii]-v, [5]-792, 1p. 24 cm.
- 655.** Vergara y Vergara, José María. *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada desde la conquista hasta la independecia (1538-1820)* 2. ed., con prólogo y anotaciones de Antonio Gómez Restrepo. Bogota, Librería americana, 1905.
xxvii, 615, [1] p. port. 22½ cm.
- 656.** Vesga y Ávila, J. M. *Perfiles colombianos*. 1. ser. Diputados y ministros. Bogotá, 1908.
Cited in Bogota, Bib. nac. Catál., 1914, p. 209.
- 657.** Zamora, Alonso de. *Historia de la provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reyno de Granada del Orden de predicadores*. Barcelona, Impr. de J. Leopis, 1701.
10 p. l., 537, [1] p. 10 l.
Medina. Bib. hisp. americana, 2053.

COSTA RICA

- 658.** Biolley, Pablo. *Bibliografía; obras publicadas en el extranjero acerca de la República de Costa Rica durante el siglo xix*. (In *Revista de Costa Rica en el siglo xix*. Tomo 1. San José, 1902. 29½ cm. p. [363]-404.)
- 659.** Costa Rica. Facultad de farmacia. *Memoria general presentada a la Asamblea general anual, reunida en esta ciudad el 14 de enero de 1917, por el secretario de la Facultad, Lic. Alonso Pérez Calvo*. San José, "Alsina", 1917.
748, [4] p. plates, ports. 25½ cm.
"Apuntes biográficos": p. 192-211, 233-236, [603]-605, [618]-619.
- 660.** Costa Rica. *Inspección general de enseñanza*. Bibliografía pedagógica y medios materiales de enseñanza, por B. Corrales, secretario de la Inspección general. San José, Tipografía nacional, 1896.
45, [1] p. 20 cm.

661. Revista de Costa Rica en el siglo xix. Tomo primero. San José, Tipografía nacional, 1902.

x p., 1 l., 404, a-c p. incl. illus., tables. plates, ports. 29½ cm.

Pub. by "Comisión conmemorativa de Costa Rica en el siglo xix", ed. by Francisco M. Iglesias and Juan F. Ferraz.

No more published.

CONTENTS.—Iglesias, F. M., y Ferraz, J. F. Prólogo.—Thiel, B. A. Monografía de la población de Costa Rica en el siglo xix.—Iglesias, F. M. Memoria histórica ... los veinte primeras años del siglo (reproducción)—Soto Hall, M. Capítulos de un libro inédito.—Jiménez, M. J. Cuadros de costumbres.—Soto Hall, M. Episodios nacionales, 1856-1857. Día de la independencia.—Ferraz, J. F. Tres fiestas del 15 de setiembre.—Láchner Sandoval, V. Apuntes de higiene pública.—Soto Hall, M. Rasgos biográficos ... de un libro inédito.—Thiel, B. A. La Iglesia católica en Costa Rica durante el siglo xix.—Valenciano, R. J. Breve reseña de la jerarquía eclesiástica, 1851-1900.—Biolley, P. Bibliografía: obras publicadas en el extranjero acerca de la República de Costa Rica durante el siglo xix (1826-1900).

662. San José, Costa Rica. Biblioteca nacional. Boletín, año 1- agosto 1898- San José, 1898-.

Two numbers published.

The Biblioteca nacional is publishing its catalogue which is expected to be completed by the end of 1920.

663. San José, Costa Rica. Biblioteca nacional. Informe de la Biblioteca nacional oficina de depósito y cange de publicaciones San José. Tip. nacional.

- 663a. Sotela, Rogelio. Valores literarios de Costa Rica. San Jose, Impr. Alsina, 1920.

293, [2] p. 22 cm.

CUBA

664. Acevedo, Luciano de. La Habana en el siglo xix descrita por viajeros extranjeros (ensayo de bibliografía crítica) La Habana. Cuba contemporánea, 1919.

52 p. 24 cm.

665. Alcover y Beltrán, Antonio Miguel. El periodismo en Sagua; sus manifestaciones. (Apuntes para la historia del periodismo cubano.) Habana [Tip. "La Australia"] 1901.

2 p. l., v, 227, [1] p., 1 l. illus. 17½ cm.

666. Asociación de la prensa médica de Cuba. Homenaje al Señor Carlos M. Trelles y Govín, socio de honor. Matanzas, Impr. de J. F. Oliver, 1919.

1 p. l., 90 p. 25½ cm.

"Bibliografía del Señor Carlos Manuel Trelles y Govín por el dr. Jorge Le-Roy y Cassá:" p. 24-35.

667. Bachiller y Morales, Antonio. Apuntes para la historia de las letras, y de la instrucción pública de la isla de Cuba. Habana, Impr. de P. Mas-sano [etc.] 1859-61.

3 v. 24 cm.

CONTENTS.—t. 1. pte. 1. De la educación primaria. pte. 2. Educación secundaria y facultativa profesional. De la instrucción facultativa literaria. Enseñanzas universitarias.—t. ii. pte. 3. Imprenta en la isla. Periódico. Canciones. Poema lírico y dramático. Historiadores. Renacimiento. Publicaciones periódicas: catálogo razonado y cronológico hasta 1840 inclusive. [Miscelánea].—t. iii. pte. 4. Galería de hombres útiles. Adiciones. Catálogo de libros y folletos publicados en Cuba desde la introducción de la imprenta hasta 1840. Adiciones.

"Suplementos y adiciones á los catálogos de la bibliografía cubana [312 titles]" in Revista de Cuba, v. 7. p. 354-364, 491-498; v. 8. p. 71-73, 124-135, 250-254, 363-372.

668. British museum. Cartografía cubana del British museum; catálogo cronológico de cartas, planos y mapas de los siglos xvi al xix. Por Domingo Figarola-Caneda. 2. ed., corr. Habana, Impr. de la Biblioteca nacional, 1910.
21 p. 27 cm.
669. Calcagno, Francisco. Diccionario biográfico cubano. <Comprende hasta 1878.> New-York, N. Ponce de Leon, 1878[-86].
3 p. l., viii, [7]-727 p. 26 cm.
670. Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. Doña Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda; indicaciones bibliográficas con motivo de un libro reciente. Madrid, Tip. de la "Revista de arch., bibl. y museos", 1915.
24 p. 24½ cm.
"Del 'Boletín de la Real academia española'"; also in Cuba intelectual, no. 40-42.
671. El Criollo. Album de el Criollo; semblanzas. Habana, Est. tip. O'Reilly número 9, 1888.
350 p. incl. ports. 25 cm.
"Ofrecemos al público coleccionados en el presente volumen, los retratos de los famosos insurrectos y revolucionarios cubanos que han galardonado las páginas de el Criollo."
672. Cruz, Manuel de la. Cromitos cubanos (Bocetos de autores hispano-americanos). Habana, Est. tip. la Lucha, 1892.
xv, 436 p., 2 l. illus. (ports.) 20 cm.
"Bibliografía de los cromitos cubanos": p. 423-436.
673. Cuba. Congreso. Cámara de representantes. Catálogo de las obras existentes en la biblioteca. Habana, Impr. y papelería de Rambla y Bouza, 1905.
30 p. 22 cm.
Signed: Manuel González Iglesias, bibliotecario.
674. ———. Catalogo de las obras que forman su biblioteca: secciones de hacienda pública y de comercio y transporte. Habana, Imp. de Suárez, Carasa y ca, 1913.
[272] p. 27½ cm.
Prepared by Luis Marino Pérez.
- 674a. Cuba. Congreso. Senado. Biblioteca. Catálogo de las obras existentes en la referida biblioteca, año de 1916. Habana, Impr. de Rambla, Bouza y ca., 1917.
xlili p., 2 l., [3]-350 p. 27 cm.
Signed: Valentín Villar, jefe de la sección.
675. Escoto, José Augusto. Ensayo de una biblioteca herediana. (In Cuba y América, Habana, 1904. 24 cm. v. 14, p. 148-149, 261-269.)
676. Figarola Caneda, Domingo. Bibliografía de Enrique Piñeyro, con una introducción, notas y complemento. (In Anales de la Academia de la historia. Habana, 1919- 28½ cm. t. 1, no. 1-, p. 64-91- ports.)
In progress.

677. ——— Bibliografía de Luz y Caballero. 2. ed., corr. y aum. Habana, Impr. "El Siglo xx" de A. Miranda, 1915.
 xix, 272 p., 2 l. plates, ports., facsims. 26 cm.
 "Las cinco primeras partes de esta obra se dieron a la estampa en la Revista de la Facultad de letras y ciencias de nuestra Universidad (1914-1915). Ahora se reproducen corregidas, aumentadas, completas con las abreviaturas y una tabla metódica.
678. ——— Bibliografía de Rafael M. Merchán. 2. ed., corr. y aum. Habana, Imp. y pap. La Universal, 1905.
 xxvii p., 1 l., 48 p., 1 l. 22½ cm.
679. ——— El doctor Ramón Meza y Suárez Inclán; noticia biobibliográfica. 2. ed., corr. Habana, Impr. de la Biblioteca nacional, 1909.
 21 p. port. 27½ cm.
 From "Revista de la Biblioteca nacional," v. 1, p. 31-51.
- 679a. Figarola-Caneda, Domingo. Donativo Bustamante: Catálogo de derecho internacional. (In Revista de la Biblioteca nacional. Habana, 1911-12, t. 5, p. 46-55; t. 7, p. 124-133.)
 En 1917 se ha publicado el primer tomo completo del Catálogo, Habana, Imp. de la Biblioteca nacional, vii, [1], 47, [1] p. 173 números.
 Nos. 679a-b-c, 686a and 692a are cited in a list of Cuban bibliographies (mss.) compiled by Mrs. E. Figarola-Caneda. This list, examined with the permission of the compiler, was received too late to permit of the insertion in the present list of all the titles. Mrs. Figarola-Caneda is preparing also a dictionary of Cuban pseudonyms with biographical data.
- 679b. ——— Índice de los títulos contenidos en las diversas colecciones facticias de la biblioteca adquirida por compra hecha al Sr. Dr. Vidal Morales y Morales. Habana, Impr. de la Biblioteca nacional, 1905.
 64 p.
- 679c. ——— Para la biografía de José Martí. (In Revista de la Biblioteca nacional. Habana, 1909. t. 1, p. 138-160).
680. González Alcorta, Leandro. Datos para la historia de Vuelta-Abajo. Pinar del Río, Impr. "La Constancia", 1902.
 v. 1. 22 cm.
 1. pte. Exploraciones bibliográficas.
681. Guía-directorio de la República de Cuba (Bailly-Bailliere-Riera); comercio, industria, agricultura, ganadería, minería, propiedad, profesiones y elemento oficial. Barcelona, Pub. por "Anuarios Bailly-Bailliere y Riera reunidos", s. a., 1920.
 888 p. map. 28 cm.
682. Havana. Biblioteca nacional. Revista de la Biblioteca nacional; publicación mensual. año 1- t. 1- enero 1909- Habana, Impr. de la Biblioteca nacional, 1909-.
 Editor: Jan. 1909-. D. Figarola-Caneda.
683. Havana. Censor principal de teatros. Índice de las piezas dramáticas permitidas sin atajos ni correcciones, de las permitidas con ellos y de las absolutamente prohibidas, presentado al gobierno superior civil de la isla por el censor principal de teatros de esta capital. Habana, Impr. del Gobierno y capitanía general por S. M., 1852.
 58, 6 p. 30 cm.

684. Havana. Colegio de Belén. Album conmemorativo del quincuagesimo aniversario de la fundacion en la Habana del Colegio de Belen de la Compañía de Jesús. Habana, Impr. Avisador comercial, 1904.
[iii]-viii, 435 p., 1 l. plates, ports. 25 cm.
685. Lagomasino A., Luis. Patricios y heroínas. Bocetos históricos. Habana, Tip. del Boletín nacional de historia y geografía, 1912.
v. 1. illus. pl., ports, facsim. 20 x 10 cm.
CONTENTS.—v. 1. J. de Agüero, I. Armenteros, F. Hernández, F. Estrampes, F. V. Aguilera D. del Marmol, P. Figueredo, I. Moray Pera, F. Sánchez Betancourt, M. G. Gutiérrez, A. Lordo.
686. Le Roy y Cassá, Jorge. Bibliografía de la estadística en Cuba durante el siglo xx. (In *La Reforma social*, Habana, 1917. 24 cm. t. ix, p. [134]-150.)
- 686a. ——— Bibliografía del Dr. Juan Santos Fernández. Habana, Imp. de Lloredo y ca.
97 p. Contains 928 numbers.
- 686b. Libro azul de Cuba: The Blue Book of Cuba, 1917. Habana, Solana y cía., 1917.
xi, 352 p. illus., ports. 32 cm.
687. El libro social de la Habana. New York, Impr. de W. Green [c1906-
v. 1. 19½ cm.
"Originado y compilado por Louise Wintzer de vom. Dorp, propietaria, revisado por Enrique Fontanilla".
688. Llaverías, Joaquín. Historia de los archivos de Cuba. Prólogo de F. de P. Coronado. Habana, Imp. de Ruiz y comp. (s. en c.) 1912.
xxiv, 382 p., 1 l. illus., fold. plan. 27 cm.
689. López Prieto, Antonio. Parnaso cubano. Colección de poesías selectas de autores cubanos desde Zequeira a nuestros días, precedida de una introducción histórico-crítica sobre el desarrollo de la poesía en Cuba, con biografías. Habana, M. de Villa [1881].
lxxxi, 370 p. 23 cm.
690. Medina, José Toribio. La imprenta en La Habana (1707-1810). Notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.
xxxii, 199 p., 1 l. 24 cm.
691. Mitjás, Aurelio. Estudio sobre el movimiento científico y literario de Cuba. Habana, Imp. de A. Alvarez y ca., 1890.
xxxi, [5]-395 p. 20 cm.
Contains many data in the field indicated by the title, but the want of index and table of contents greatly impair its value as a reference book.
692. ——— Historia de la literatura cubana. Del Monte. Heredia. Milanés. Saco. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. Zenea, etc., etc. La vida y la obra de Mitjans, por Manuel de la Cruz. Madrid, Editorial-America [1918?]
389 p. 19½ cm. (Biblioteca Andrés Bello, t. 1.)

- 692a. Monte, Domingo, del. Lista cronológica de los libros inéditos e impresos que se han escrito sobre la isla de Cuba y de los que hablan de la misma desde su descubrimiento y conquista hasta nuestros días, formado en París en 1846. Habana, Est. tip. de la Vda. de Soler, 1882.
50 p.
693. Morales y Morales, Vidal. Iniciadores y primeros mártires de la revolución cubana. Prólogo del dr. Nicolás Heredia. Habana, Impr. Avisador comercial, 1901.
xv, 680 p., 1 l. front. (port.) col. pl. 23 cm.
694. Muñoz Sañudo, Lisardo. Periodistas y periódicos masónicos de Cuba. Habana, 1917?
695. Parker, William Belmont. Cubans of to-day. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's sons, 1919.
xvii, 684 p. front., ports. 17 cm. (Hispanic notes and monographs ... issued by the Hispanic Society of America.)
696. Pérez, Luis Marino. Apuntes de libros y folletos impresos en España y el extranjero que tratan expresamente de Cuba desde principios del siglo xvii hasta 1812 y de las disposiciones de gobierno impresas en la Habana desde 1753 hasta 1800. Con varios apéndices é índice. Habana, C. Martínez y compañía, 1907.
xv, 62, 16, [7] p. 23½ cm.
Apéndices: Impresos de la Real sociedad patriótica y del Real consulado de la Habana, Adiciones á la Imprenta en la Habana de José Toribio Medina. Imp. de "Cuba y América". 1907.
697. ——— Bibliografía de la revolución de Yara; folletos y libros impresos de 1868 a 1908. Historia y política. Biografías. Masonería. Asuntos eclesiástico-políticos. Esclavitud. Asuntos económicos. Asuntos administrativos. Literatura patriótica. Habana, Impr. Avisador comercial, 1908.
x, 73 p. 23½ cm.
698. Pérez Beato, Manuel. La imprenta en la Habana. (In *El Curioso americano*, Habana. 1908. 25½ cm. p. 109-112, 152-155.)
699. ——— La imprenta en Santiago de Cuba. (In *El Curioso americano*. Habana, 1908. 25½ cm. p. 19-24, 33-38, 107-109.)
700. Pezuela y Lobo, Jacobo de la. Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico, de la isla de Cuba. Madrid, Impr. del estab. de Mellado, 1863-66.
4 v. tables (partly fold.) 27½ cm.
701. Quesada, Gonzalo de. Cuba. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1905.
541 p. front. (fold. map) pl. 23 cm.
At head of title: International bureau of the American republic, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
"Books relating to Cuba. Compiled by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin": p. 315-446.
"Maps relating to Cuba. Compiled by P. Lee Phillips": p. 447-512.
702. Ramírez, Serafín. La Habana artística. Apuntes históricos. Habana, Imp. del E. M. de la Capitanía general, 1891.
iii-xv, 684, [7] p. 22 cm.

703. Risquet, Juan F. Rectificaciones: la cuestión político-social en la isla de Cuba. Habana, Tipografía "América", 1900.
xiii, [15]-205, ii, p., 1 l. 21½ cm.
Contains biographical matter.
704. Rosain, Domingo. Necrópolis de la Habana. Historia de los cementerios de esta ciudad. Con multitud de noticias interesantes, Habana, Impr. "El Trabajo", 1875.
vii, [9]-543, xiii p., 1 l. 23 x 18 cm.
705. Torralbas, Federico. Bibliografía del Dr. José I. Torralbas. Habana, Impr. Avisador comercial, 1910.
ix p., 1 l., 53 p. port. 24 cm.
706. Trelles y Govín, Carlos Manuel. Bibliografía cubana del siglo XIX. Matanzas, Impr. de Quirós y Estrada, 1911-15.
8 v. 26 cm.
A continuation of the author's "Ensayo de bibliografía cubana de los siglos XVII y XVIII" pub. 1907, with supplement 1908.
CONTENTS.—t. 1. 1800-1825.—t. 2. 1826-1840. Seguida de una Relación de periódicos publicados en Cuba en el siglo XX, por F. Llaca, y unas Noticias curiosas referentes á escritores de los siglos XVII y XVIII, por M. Pérez Beato.—t. 3. 1841-1855.—t. 4. 1856-1869.—t. 5. 1869-1878.—t. 6. 1879-1885.—t. 7. 1886-1893.—t. 8. 1894-1899. Apéndices: I. Adiciones; II. Notas biográficas; III. Juicios críticos; IV. Alfabetos, Últimas adiciones; V. Ensayo de biblioteca cubana del siglo XIX.
707. ——— Bibliografía cubana del siglo XX. (1900-1916) Matanzas, Impr. de la vda. de Quiros y Estrada, 1916-17.
2 v. 26 cm.
708. ——— Bibliografía de la segunda guerra de independencia cubana y de la hispano-yankee. Publicada en la revista ilustrada "Cuba y América". Habana, 1902.
cover-title, 49 p. 24 cm.
Arranged chronologically, 1895-1900; includes references to articles in periodicals.
709. ——— Bibliografía geográfica cubana. Matanzas, Impr. de J. F. Oliver, 1920.
3 p. l., iv, 340 p. ports., maps. 25 cm.
710. ——— Bibliografía médico-farmacéutica cubana. (In Revista de medicina y cirugía. Habana, 1906-07. 25 cm. t. xi-xii.)
Describes 2000 books, pamphlets and articles.
——— Indices. Habana, Impr. Avisador Comercial, 1907.
31, [1] p. 25½ cm.
711. ——— Biblioteca científica cubana. Matanzas, Impr. de J. F. Oliver, 1918-19.
2 v. illus., pl., ports., facsim. 25 cm.
CONTENTS.—t. 1. Matemáticas, astronomía, Ciencias militares, físicas y naturales, Biología, Antropología, Agricultura.—t. 2. Ciencias médicas, Ingeniería.
712. ——— Los ciento cincuenta libros mas notables que los cubanos han escrito. Habana, Impr. "El Siglo XX," de A. Miranda, 1914.
61 p. 18 cm.
From Cuba y América, v. 17, no. 1, October 1913.

713. ———. Ensayo de bibliografía cubana de los siglos xvii y xviii. Seguido de unos apuntes para la bibliografía dominicana y portorriqueña. Matanzas, Impr. "El Escritorio", 1907.

xi, 228 p., 1 l., xxviii p., 1 l. 26 cm.

"Notas y adiciones". (In *El Curioso americano*, Habana, 1907, p. 27, 30, 43, 46, 62, 64, 94, 96.)

————— Suplemento. Matanzas, Impr. "El Escritorio," 1908.

2 p. l., ii, 76 p. 26½ cm.

714. Trujillo, y Cárdenas, Enrique. Album de "El Porvenir". New York, Impr. de "El Porvenir", 1890-95.

5 v.

A rich source of biographical information: cf. Pérez, de Biol. la revolución de Yara, no. 350-354.

715. U. S. Library of Congress. List of books relating to Cuba, including references to collected works and periodicals; by A. P. C. Griffin; with a bibliography of maps by P. Lee Phillips. Washington, Govt. print. off., 1898.

61 p. 23½ cm. (U. S. 55th Cong., 2d sess., 1897-98. Senate. Doc. no. 161.)

"Appendix: A synoptical catalogue of manuscripts in the Library of Congress relating to Cuba. Comp. by Herbert Friedenwald": p. 58-61.

716. Valdés Domínguez, Eusebio. Bibliografía cubana. (In *Revista cubana*. Habana, 1879. 26 cm. t. 5, p. [368]-379, [581]-592; t. 6, p. [85]-89.)

Unfinished.

717. Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. Cuban authors and thinkers. (In *The Hispanic American historical review*. Baltimore, 1920. 27 cm. vol. III, p. 634-638.)

718. Velasco, Carlos de. La Academia de la historia de Cuba, los académicos de número. (Pub. en la *Revista de la Biblioteca nacional*) Habana, Impr. de la Biblioteca nacional, 1910.

68 p. incl. ports. 26½ cm.

ECUADOR

719. Andrade, Manuel de Jesús. Ecuador. Próceres de la independencia; índice alfabético de sus nombres con algunos bocetos biográficos. Quito, Tip. de la Escuela de artes y oficios, 1909.

3 p. l., 417 p. 20½ cm.

- 719a. Andrade Coello, Alejandro. Intellectual development in Ecuador. (In *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Washington, 1920. 24½ cm. v. 50, p. 265-275.)

"English version of an article in *Revista de la Universidad de Córdoba*".

720. Anrique Reyes, Nicolás. Noticia de algunas publicaciones ecuatorianas anteriores a 1792. Santiago de Chile. 1891.

23 p.

- 721.** Anuario de la prensa ecuatoriana, publ. por la Biblioteca municipal de Guayaquil. [año I]-III; 1892-1894. Guayaquil, 1893-95.
3 v. 21½ cm.
"Publicaciones de autores ecuatorianos o relativas al Ecuador, impresas en el extranjero durante los años [de] 1892[-1894]": 1893, p. [81]-83; 1894, p. [106]-109.
Diarios, periódicos y revistas": 1894, p. [90]-105.
No more published?
- 722.** Campos, Francisco. Galería biográfica de hombres célebres ecuatorianos. Guayaquil, 1885.
- 723.** Ceballos, Pedro Fermín. Ecuatorianos ilustres. Reproducción hecha por Ernesto C. Monge para el centenario del autor. Quito, Impr. "La Juventud", 1912.
2 p. l., [3]-58 p. 20 cm.
Ed. by Celiano Monge.
Reprinted from *El Iris*, 1861.
- 724.** Ceriola, Juan B. El periodismo en el Ecuador. Quito? 1909.
- 725.** Compte, Francisco María. Varones ilustres de la Orden seráfica en el Ecuador, desde la fundación de Quito hasta nuestros días. 2. ed., corr. y aum. por el mismo autor. Quito, Impr. del clero, 1885.
2 v. 22½ cm.
- 726.** Destruge, Camilo. Album biográfico ecuatoriano. Guayaquil, Ecuador, Tip. "El Vigilante", 1903-05.
v. 1-5. ports. 24½ cm.
CONTENTS.—t. 1. Hombres notables del reino de Quito. Hombres notables de la época colonial.—t. 2. Hombres notables de la independencia.—t. 3. Presidentes de la república.—t. 4. Hombres notables de varias épocas (fallecidos).—t. 5. Hombres notables contemporáneos (fallecidos).
- 726a.** Endara, Julio. La cultura filosófica en el Ecuador durante la colonia. (In *Revista de filosofía*. Buenos Aires, 1920. 26 cm. año 6, no. 6 (noviembre) p. 400-429.)
- 727.** González Suárez, Federico. Bibliografía ecuatoriana. La imprenta en el Ecuador en tiempo de la colonia, 1750-1792. Quito, Impr. de la Universidad, 1892.
36 p.
- 728.** Guayaquil. Biblioteca municipal. Boletín. t. I- marzo 1910- Guayaquil, 1910-.
28 cm.
"Sección histórica" included in each no.
- 729.** Medina, José Toribio. La imprenta en Quito (1760-1818). Notas bibliográficas. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1904.
86 p., 1 l. 24 cm.
- 730.** Mera, Juan León. Antología ecuatoriana. Cantares del pueblo ecuatoriano, precedida de un estudio sobre ellos, ilustrada con notas acerca el lenguaje del pueblo y seguida de varias antiguallas curiosas. Ed. hecha por orden y bajo el auspicio de la Academia ecuatoriana. Quito, Impr. de la Universidad central del Ecuador, 1892.
2 p. l., xxvi p., 1 l., 504 p. 26 cm.

731. ——— Ojeada histórico-crítica sobre la poesía ecuatoriana, desde su época más remota hasta nuestros días. Quito, Impr. de J. P. Sanz, 1868.
1 p. l., vii, 503, [5] p. 17½ cm.
732. Muñoz, Bonifacio. Biblioteca de alquiler; catálogo especial de 30,000 obras dedicado al pueblo ecuatoriano; Librería "Sucre" de Bonifacio Muñoz. Quito, Impreso por N. Romero D., 1918.
1 p. l., 424 p. pl. 24½ cm.
A dealer's catalogue: "Sección nacional:" p. 335-365.
733. ——— Obras de autores ecuatorianos; catálogo especial de las librerías "Sucre" ... Quito, Tip. y encuadernación salisianas [1919].
144 p. 25 cm.
734. Orellana, Gonzalo. Patria intelectual. Album biográfico ecuatoriano.
Cf. Catalogue of Bonifacio Muñoz.
735. Pérez, Juan. Rasgos biográficos de personas notables de Ambato. Quito y del Ecuador.
3 v.
736. ——— Rasgos biográficos de personas notables de Guayaquil. Guayaquil? 1906.
737. Pino Roco. Establecimiento de la imprenta en Guayaquil, 1821. Guayaquil, Impr. Gutenberg, 1906.
738. Rolando, Carlos A. Catálogo de la bibliografía nacional del Dr. Carlos A. Rolando. Guayaquil, Imp. mercantil [1913].
2 p. l., 135 p. 25½ cm.
"El catálogo está arreglado hasta el 31 de diciembre de 1912."
739. ——— Pseudónimos de escritores nacionales y extranjeros en la prensa guayaquileña. (In Boletín de la Sociedad ecuatoriana de estudios históricos americanos. Quito, 1919, t. 3, p. 273-275.)
- 739a. Váscones, Francisco. Historia de la literatura ecuatoriana. Quito, Tip. de la Prensa católica, 1919.
v. 1—

GUATEMALA

740. Academia guatemalteca. Biografías de literatos nacionales, publicación de la Academia guatemalteca. t. 1. [Guatemala] Estab. tip. "La Unión," 1889.
v. 1. 24½ cm.
CONTENTS.—R. García Goyena, I. Gómez, M. Diéguez Olaverri, J. Batres, J. Diéguez Olaverri, A. Marure.
741. Guatemala. Facultad de derecho. Catálogo de la biblioteca de la Facultad de derecho y notariado del Centro. Sección latino-americana. Guatemala, Siguere y cía, 1898.
p. 217-300.
742. Guatemala. Instituto nacional. Biblioteca Catálogo. Guatemala, 1887.
Cited in Catálogos de periódicos y libros de la Biblioteca nacional de Bogotá, 1914, p. 189.

- 742a. Guatemala. Secretaría de relaciones exteriores. Lista diplomática y Consular. Guatemala, Tip. nacional, 1920.
21 p.
743. Medina, José Toribio. La imprenta en Guatemala (1660-1821). Santiago de Chile, Impreso en casa del autor, 1910.
lxxxv p., 1 l., 696, [2] p. illus., facsims. 33 cm.
744. O'Ryan, Juan Enrique. Bibliografía de la imprenta en Guatemala en los siglos xvii y xviii. Santiago de Chile, Imprenta elzeviriana, 1897.
xvi, [17]-120 p., 1 l. facsims. (1 fold.) 19 cm.
"Bibliografía": p. [17]-20.
- 744a. Rodríguez Beteta, Virgilio. La imprenta y los impresores en Centro América durante la colonia. (In *El arte tipográfico*. Nueva York, 1920—, t. xviii—).
Introducción a la historia del periodismo en el antiguo reino de Guatemala.
745. Salazar, Ramón A. Historia del desenvolvimiento intelectual de Guatemala. Tomo 1. La colonia. Guatemala, 1867.
403 p.
With bibliography. Cited in Blake's bull. Dec. 1917, no. 716.
746. Spain. Archivo general de Indias. Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, etc. de la audiencia y capitanía general de Guatemala (Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa-Rica) existentes en el Archivo general de Indias; por Pedro Torres Lanzas ... Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de arch., bibl. y museos, 1903.
214 p. fold. maps, plans. 17 cm.
"De la Revista de arch., bibl. y museos."

HONDURAS

747. Albir, Francisco José. Writers of Honduras. (In *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Washington, 1919. 24½ cm. v. 49, p. 187-190.)
Published also in the Spanish edition of the *Bulletin*, June, 1919.
748. Directorio nacional de Honduras, América Central. New York, Spanish-American directories Co., 1899.
502 p. front. (port.) illus. 24 cm. Compiled by G. R. Perry.
749. Durón y Gamero, Rómulo Enrique. Honduras literaria; colección de escritos en prosa y verso, precedidos de apuntes biográficos por Rómulo E. Durón ... Tegucigalpa, Tipografía nacional, 1896-99.
2 v. 27 cm.
750. Honduras. Biblioteca nacional. Catálogo metodico de la Biblioteca nacional, seguido de un índice alfabético de autores y otro de materias. 1906 [i. e. 1915] Tegucigalpa, Tipografía nacional [1915]
293 p., 1 l. 28 cm.
The author and subject indices are wanting in the copy I have collated.

751. Revista del Archivo y Biblioteca nacional de Honduras ... Tegucigalpa, 1904—
752. Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. Índice bibliográfico hondureño. (In Centro-América, vol. 5 (1913) p. 583-587.)
- Bibliografía que interesa a Honduras. (In Centro-América, vol. 7 (1915). 24½ cm. p. [530]-534.)

C. K. JONES.

(*To be continued.*)

LA SECCIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS DE LA BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE

I. SU ORIGEN Y DESARROLLO

En cumplimiento de una ley especial, adquirió el Gobierno de Chile en 1846 la biblioteca del eminente patriota don Mariano Egaña, de la que formaba parte una colección de manuscritos de las más variadas materias, que sirvió de base para crear mas tarde la Sección de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional, y que era la 6.^a de las que contaba este establecimiento cuando se dictó su Reglamento en 8 de agosto de 1861.

Años mas tarde, en 1867, la colección constaba de seiscientas piezas, distribuidas en 113 volúmenes en esta forma: 48 volúmenes en folio, 60 en 4° y 5 en 8°.

En mayo de 1876 ingresó a la Biblioteca Nacional la biblioteca particular de Monseñor don José, Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre, que además de 4,000 libros contaba con una colección de documentos que el erudito y progresista sacerdote legó al mencionado establecimiento.

Añadiéronse sucesivamente a estas colecciones otra serie de papeles utilizados por don Claudio Gay para escribir su *Historia General de Chile*, los libros y expedientes tramitados en el tribunal del Consulado, y el archivo del Estado Mayor del Ejército Peruano, referente a la primera etapa de la guerra del Pacífico, caído en poder del ejército chileno en 1879.

En julio de 1885 un conocido periodista y activo investigador de la historia patria don Justo Abel Rosales, publicó un extenso y nutrido artículo en el que abogaba por la creación de una verdadera Sección de Manuscritos, donde se guardasen los diversos archivos históricos diseminados en varias oficinas públicas. Hasta entonces la Biblioteca Nacional sólo contaba con 116 volúmenes de manuscritos del Fondo

Antiguo; 12 de Reales Cédulas, muchas de ellas impresas, y 223 legajos de documentos sin empastar ni catalogar, correspondientes a los archivos de Eyzaguirre, Consulado, Guerra del Pacífico, Inquisición y Jesuitas, los que representan a lo sumo unos 1250 volúmenes mas, valiosos sin duda, pero de consulta casi imposible por entonces.

A pesar de su crecimiento, la Sección de Manuscritos llevó por esto una vida lánguida hasta que un nuevo Director de la Biblioteca, don Luis Montt, le dió vigoroso impulso en 1886. Gracias a sus esfuerzos pasaron a formar parte de ella el archivo de la antigua Capitanía General, cuya traslación se ordenó por decreto supremo de 25 de septiembre de ese año; los Registros de los Escribanos de Santiago, los archivos de la Real Audiencia, de la Contaduría Mayor, de las Intendencias de Biobío y parte del Judicial de Concepción. Adquiriéndose también por entonces la colección de manuscritos del reputado escritor y político chileno don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna; el archivo de don Carlos Morla Vicuña, obsequiado por su señora viuda y otra serie de documentos diseminados en poder de particulares.

El señor Montt, que a su vasta erudición de bibliógrafo, unía su interés por el estudio de la historia patria, dió así forma práctica a lo que a manera de aforismo repetía él con frecuencia: "no hay papel inútil", consiguiendo que prevaleciera su elevado criterio sobre el de los que opinaban que algunos de esos ricos archivos debían destruirse por carecer ya de todo valor.

El señor Montt debe, por tanto, ser reputado como el verdadero creador de la Sección, en la que trabajó no sólo como investigador, sino también en la revisión de los catálogos y aun en la ordenación misma de los papeles.

Cuando ocurrió la muerte del señor Montt en 1910, la Sección de Manuscritos contaba ya con más de 12,500 volúmenes, distribuidos en la forma siguiente:

| <i>Archives</i> | <i>Volúmenes</i> |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Antiguo de la Biblioteca | 198 |
| Capitanía General | 1,045 |
| Cédulario | 104 |
| Consulado | 50 |
| Tribunal de Minería | 14 |
| Contaduría Mayor | 5,000 |
| Copias de Indias | 63 |
| Eyzaguirre | 60 |
| Inquisición | 600 |
| Jesuitas | 467 |

| <i>Archives</i> | <i>Volúmenes</i> |
|--|------------------|
| Escribanos (1559-1800) | 976 |
| Real Audiencia | 3,098 |
| Vicuña Mackenna | 336 |
| Morla Vicuña | 125 |
| Guerra del Pacífico (1879) | 33 |
| Judicial de Concepción (1820-1854) | 90 |
| Intendencia de Concepción | 136 |
| Intendencia de Bío-Bío | 105 |
| Copias de la Oficina Hidrográfica | 19 |
| Total | 12,519 |

Por desgracia las salas de la Biblioteca Nacional destinadas para la Sección de Manuscritos llegaron a ser estrechas y más aun cuando fue menester demoler una de ellas para facilitar la construcción del Palacio de los Tribunales y las restantes quedaron dañadas a consecuencia del terremoto de Agosto de 1906. Con todo, en el último decenio han ingresado a la Sección 328 volúmenes distribuidos como sigue:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Archivo del Cabildo de la Serena | 36 |
| “ de la Gobernación de Angol | 59 |
| “ particular de don Benjamín Vicuña M. | 52 |
| “ del Fondo Antiguo | 23 |
| Agregados a diversos archivos | 158 |

Dentro de muy poco tiempo se dará comienzo a la construcción de la parte que en el nuevo edificio de la Biblioteca Nacional se ha destinado a la Sección de Manuscritos. Con capacidad para guardar más de 200,000 volúmenes y con todas las comodidades necesarias para su seguridad y fácil consulta la Sección está llamada a experimentar un rápido incremento, pudiéndose calcular desde luego que duplicará su existencia actual de 13,000 volúmenes, cuando reciba los antiguos archivos notariales, los de las Intendencias y Gobernaciones y judiciales de los corregimientos coloniales y muchos otros que se hallan repartidos por las provincias de un extremo al otro de la república.

II. DESCRIPCIÓN PARTICULAR DE LOS DIFERENTES ARCHIVOS

La composición heterogénea de algunos archivos dificulta la tarea de dar una somera idea de cada uno de ellos, inconveniente tanto mayor cuanto que el valor de los documentos varía según se les aprecie por su valor intrínseco, por su rareza, por los antecedentes de las personas de quienes proceden, o por los detalles curiosos que contengan o se

relacionen con el origen de ellos, o por otra serie de causas que aun es difícil recordarlas en un momento. La reseña resultará por consiguiente incompleta por la omisión de noticias de interés, y deficiente por la concisión con que es menester apuntar las demás para no dar a este artículo un desarrollo mayor del que su naturaleza le corresponde.

Archivo del Fondo Antiguo.—Consta hoy de 223 volúmenes de tan diferentes materias que en conjunto semejan una enciclopedia. Hay en ellos obras de jurisprudencia, informes en derecho, memorias jurídicas, reales cédulas; textos didácticos y teológicos, de literatura, poesía e historia; apuntes sobre medicina, mineralogía, meteorología chilenas, obras públicas, educación, materia de gobierno, diarios de navegación, comercio, industria, artes, estadística, etc., y una colección de documentos relativos al Tribunal de la Inquisición o a la historia de Chile, copiados en el Archivo de Indias de Simancas.

Como curiosidades se pueden enumerar los manuscritos originales de la *Crónica del Reyno de Chile*, de Mariño de Lobera, 1595; del Cautiverio Feliz, de Pineda y Bascuñan, 1673; el Empadronamiento de españoles e indios de la Provincia de Chiloé, 1785; el Cronicón sacro-imperial de Chile, por Ramírez, 1805; los antecedentes sobre la fundación del Colegio de Naturales, erección de la Academia de San Luis en 1796, plan de estudios y creación del Instituto Nacional en 1813; las cartas y papeles de Vera y Pintado, don Manuel de Salas, el padre Camilo Henríquez y otros patriotas sobre la Independencia americana.

Archivo de la Capitanía General.—Comprende los papeles relativos al gobierno político y militar durante la Colonia. Son muy escasas las piezas pertenecientes al siglo XVI, pero aumentan gradualmente y ya desde mediados del siguiente y hasta los primeros años del siglo XIX la documentación es variada y abundante, estimándose en mas de 20,000 el número total de piezas existentes.

El archivo está subdividido en diversas secciones, en cada una de las cuales predominan ciertas materias, pero sin que exista en realidad una rigurosa clasificación. Siguiendo el orden numérico de los volúmenes las materias a que se refieren son las siguientes:

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Causas particulares | Vols. 1 a 227 |
| Causas relativos a minas | " 228 a 279 |
| Causas criminales | " 280 a 339 |
| Expedientes sobre el derecho de alcabala | " 340 a 357 |
| Expedientes relativos a la navegación | " 358 a 381 |
| Libros de Procuradores | " 382 y 383 |
| Asuntos administrativos | " 384 a 422 |
| Expedientes relativos a Temporalidades de Jesuitas | " 423 a 472 |

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Sobre mercedes de tierras y encomiendas de indios | Vols. 473 a 566 |
| Solicitudes particulares, memoriales sobre servicios, denuncio de tierras valdías, etc | " 567 a 575 |
| Expedientes de la jurisdicción de Aconcagua | " 576 y 577 |
| Tierras sobrantes | " 578 y 579 |
| Memoriales antiguos | " 580 |
| Expedientes relativos a extranjeros | " 581 |
| Recibos diversos | " 582 a 584 |
| Asuntos mercantiles | " 586 a 589 |
| Sobre las bodegas de Valparaíso | " 590 a 596 |
| Sobre funcionarios públicos | " 597 a 609 |
| Sobre escribanías públicas | " 610 a 621 |
| Sobre obras públicas, correspondencia oficial, asuntos administrativos particulares de Real Hacienda | " 622 a 714 |
| Colección de Reales cédulas 1576-1816 | " 715 a 798 |
| Correspondencia oficial, copiadore de decretos, bandos, acuerdos y otras materias de gobierno | " 799 a 814 |
| Sobre milicias, ejército, montepíos, fortificaciones, juicios de residencia, situados, plazas de armas, guerra con Inglaterra, gobierno de Juan Fernández, plazas y presidios y refacción de cuarteles | " 815 a 876 |
| Sobre deudas y caudales públicas, media annata, capitales consolidados, impuestos, balanza, donati- vos, aduanas, resguardos, comisos, real hacienda, rentas y diezmos | " 877 a 927 |
| Policia urbana, obras públicas, fundaciones de pueblos y ciudades, Casa de Moneda, Correos, caminos, puentes, tajamares y canal de Maipo | " 928 a 954 |
| Sobre fomento de la agricultura, el Colegio Carolino, el de Naturales, la Universidad | " 955 a 959 |
| Sobre cárceles, obras pías, hospitales y epidemias | " 960 a 967 |
| Elecciones y remates de cargos concejiles y otros expedi- entes análogos de los cabildos de Cuyo y Concepcion | " 968 a 998 |
| Asuntos eclesiásticos, jesuitas, etc | " 999 a 1036 |

Los volúmenes que siguen corresponden al período de la Independencia o de la República y son de carácter netamente administrativo.

Estimado en conjunto el archivo de la Capitanía General es el que mejor sirve para estudiar las instituciones del gobierno colonial, muy poco conocido todavía pero bastante mal juzgado por la generalidad de los historiadores.

Diffícil es dar una idea clara de la verdadera importancia de este archivo para investigaciones históricas sobre el tema indicado. Con todo trataremos de apuntar siquiera algunos detalles.

La correspondencia del Presidente con las autoridades subalternas, en los años de 1781 a 1804, encerrada en 11 volúmenes consta de 17,970

piezas y muchas de ellas son circulares enviadas simultáneamente a muchos funcionarios.

La correspondencia con el Rey, por la vía reservada está copiada en 5 volúmenes, y alcanza a cerca de 3,000 cartas escritas en el mismo lapso de tiempo. Tan sólo estos cinco volúmenes han suministrado material suficiente para un interesante y útil trabajo que realiza y concluirá en el presente año el profesor Mr. Charles E. Chapman con un grupo de alumnos del Instituto Pedagógico.

Los libros copiadores de las mercedes de tierras y encomiendas de indios concedidas entre los años de 1670 y 1708, son catorce y contienen 420 títulos de tierras y cerca de 900 de encomiendas. Los primeros son provechosos para conocer el origen de la propiedad rural y para reconstituir la toponimia indígena y los segundos encierran numerosas matrículas de indios, con millares de nombres indígenas, rico e inexplorado material para estudios de filología americana, como también memoriales y certificaciones de méritos y servicios y de filiaciones de los miembros más prestigiosos de la sociedad colonial.

Entre los expedientes administrativos son de interés particular los que se refieren a las fundaciones de ciudades, pueblos y fuertes; los que tratan de los parlamentos celebrados con los indios, de la guerra araucana y de las tentativas para convertir a la fe cristiana o civilizar al indígena; y, finalmente, los juicios de residencia y otros procesos instruidos con el objeto de esclarecer la conducta de las autoridades subalternas y demás funcionarios en el desempeño de sus cargos.

Archivo de Cédulas y Reales Órdenes.—Contiene más de 8,000 piezas correspondientes a todo el período de la Colonia, de las cuales talvez la décima parte sean impresas. Existen además otros 10 volúmenes de *Índices* y copias de documentos de esta clase guardados en los archivos de la Real Audiencia, Contaduría Mayor, Arzobispado y Municipalidad de Santiago y en el antiguo del Cabildo de la Serena. Aunque sea talvez innecesario decirlo, todos esos documentos contienen resoluciones y órdenes reales tanto de carácter general como particular sobre el gobierno de Chile. Entre estos últimos hay multitud de nombramientos de funcionarios civiles y militares, concesiones de mercedes y pensiones, permisos para contraer matrimonio, indultos de penas, expulsión o naturalización de extranjeros y sobre muchas otras materias. Por cierto que los de interés general, leyes, ordenanzas, reglamentos y aclaración o interpretación de sus disposiciones son los de mayor importancia.

Archivo del Tribunal de Minería.—Este tribunal fue creado en Chile en cumplimiento de lo dispuesto por Real Orden, dada en Aranjuez en 12 de Febrero de 1797. Contiene gran parte de los expedientes que formó el Administrador General del Ramo de Minería don Antonio Martínez de Mata, en la visita general a todos los asientos mineros del país, verificada en los años de 1788 a 1790, con el objeto de crear y fijar los límites de las Diputaciones, examinar el estado de las labores mineras, trapiches, fundiciones y conocer las necesidades premiosas para fomentar el desarrollo de la Minería en Chile. Hay expedientes análogos pero de menor importancia correspondientes a los últimos años del período colonial como asimismo litigios entre partes.

Complemento de este archivo por la materia que contienen son los volúmenes 228 a 279 de la Capitanía General, formados por pedimentos y juicios de minas, tramitados antes de la creación del tribunal especial.

Aparte de su utilidad para conocer el desarrollo de la Minería en Chile, este archivo ofrece un campo inexplorado y lucrativo, como base para organizar exploraciones mineras en antiguos y tal vez ricos asientos que permanecen abandonados o desconocidos al presente.

Archivo del Tribunal del Consulado.—Contiene documentos y expedientes tramitados en este Tribunal, creado en cumplimiento de una Real Orden, fechada en 28 de marzo de 1795, para propender al desenvolvimiento del comercio y conocer los asuntos netamente comerciales.

Archivo de la Contaduría Mayor.—En este voluminoso archivo se guarda cuanto se relaciona con el cobro o inversión de las rentas de la Real Hacienda. Contiene algunos documentos del siglo XVI, y es muy abundante en los de los siglos siguientes hasta 1840, año en que concluye la parte guardada en la Biblioteca Nacional.

En realidad está formado por no menos de una veintena de archivos diversos, de otras tantas oficinas o repartimientos administrativos entre los cuales son los principales los de las Tesorerías de Santiago y Concepción; de las Aduanas de Valparaíso, Copiapó, Huasco, Coquimbo, Constitución, Talcahuano, Valdivia y Chiloé; el de la Casa de Moneda, el de la Renta de Tabacos y construcciones de obras públicas, puentes, tajamares, etc.

Históricamente considerada, la documentación más valiosa es la que se refiere a los ejércitos, tanto realista como patriota, que pelearon en la guerra de la Independencia. Las listas de revista permitirán reconstituir ambos ejércitos, conocer las efectivos que combatieron en las batallas, las bajas que tuvieron, y hasta las nombres de los muertos

o heridos. Otros documentos dan noticias del armamentos, revelan detalles, permiten rehacer las hojas de servicios, y hasta descubrir a veces los planes militares.

Como la rendición de las cuentas era muy prolija, se hallan como comprobantes de las partidas de ingreso o egreso copias íntegras de memoriales o títulos de mercedes o nombramientos en los cuales constan los servicios de los agraciados; de los documentos que acreditaban la calidad de extranjeros de los que debían pagar el derecho de extranjería, los pormenores de la producción de los obrajes de jarcías, paños, frazadas, etc., para el aprovisionamiento del ejército y muchos otros comprobantes de índole muy diversa pero susceptibles de ser utilizados en investigaciones especiales, sobre la inmigración extranjera y desarrollo de las industrias en el período colonial; desenvolvimiento del comercio de importación y exportación después de la Independencia y en general de los temas que se relacionan con la economía política.

Archivo de Copias de Indias.—Formado por copias de documentos referentes a Chile guardados en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, descubiertos en las búsquedas de los señores Vicuña Mackenna, Medina y Morla Vicuña y otros investigadores nacionales. Algunos han sido publicados en la Colección de Documentos Inéditos del señor Medina, en el Estudio Histórico del señor Morla Vicuña, y en diversas obras del señor Vicuña Mackenna, pero la mayor parte no ha sido aprovechada todavía para ahondar el estudio de la historia patria.

Archivo de Eyzaguirre.—Encierra papeles de muy diversas materias, aunque predominan los de carácter religioso. Entre éstos se cuentan los expedientes sobre las visitas episcopales del obispo Alday a la diócesis de Santiago y del obispo Marán a la de Concepción; el recurso interpuesto por Rodríguez Zorrilla contra el Cabildo eclesiástico de Santiago en 1808, y papeles tocantes al obispo de Epifania.

Entre las obras más interesantes se pueden citar las relaciones de los viajes del Padre Mascardi a las regiones de Nahuelhuapi, 1667-1672, y de don Luis de la Cruz desde Concepción a Buenos Aires, 1806; los originales de las historias de Córdoba y Figueroa y de Rodríguez Ballesteros y un "Diario" de los sucesos ocurridos en Santiago en los años de 1765-1773, escrito por don Fernando Antonio de los Ríos, Vice-Rector de la Universidad de San Felipe.

Pero los papeles más importantes de este archivo son los pertinentes al período de la guerra de la Independencia y entre éstos sobresale un tomo de decretos originales de las Juntas Gubernativas, correspondientes a los años 1810-1816, y, por último, dentro del período republicano, el proceso instruido al Almirante Blanco Encalada, en 1821.

Archivo de la Inquisición.—Comprende casi exclusivamente los papeles tocantes a la parte económica del tribunal del Santo Oficio, como ser remates de los bienes de los condenados, ejecuciones y cobranzas de las deudas que otras personas reconocían por censos u otros motivos a favor del mismo tribunal; existen, sin embargo, copias de cartas o comunicaciones con otros tribunales españoles.

La sede del Tribunal de la Inquisición era Lima, pero su jurisdicción abarcaba toda la costa del Pacífico, desde Panamá de manera que la Capitanía General de Chile estaba dentro de los límites asignados a este tribunal.

El estudio de la documentación arrojaría mucha luz sobre el comercio colonial, y los procedimientos inquisitoriales en asuntos financieros que la competían. También serán provechosos para abordar el problema de la inmigración hebrea a la América latina, y las persecuciones de que fueron objeto sus miembros, sobre todo los judíos portugueses con quienes fue implacable la pesquisa y castigo inquisitoriales.

Archivo de los Jesuitas.—Esta valiosa colección perteneció a don Antonio de Paz, oficial de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, a quien se la compró el Gobierno de Chile, por intermedio de don Carlos Morla Vicuña, a la sazón Secretario de la legación de Chile en Francia, quien en informe fechado en Sevilla el 24 de agosto de 1876 escribía lo siguiente:

La colección de manuscritos que existe en poder del Señor Paz, consiste en su mayor parte de originales pertenecientes a los Jesuitas de Hispano-América desde Méjico hasta Chile. Estos documentos que fueron trasladados a la Península en 1767, inmediatamente después de la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús de aquel continente, estuvieron archivados en un departamento del Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, llamado de las Temporalidades, que fue desbaratado durante la última revolución. Los papeles fueron vendidos al peso a bodegones y pulperías, y se hallaban ya en vía de completa destrucción, cuando en Señor Don M. Javier Bravo, español residente en Buenos Ayres, que se encontraba accidentalmente en Madrid, tuvo noticia de su existencia y los adquirió. El Señor Bravo devolvió parte de la colección al Gobierno español y emprendió la publicación de lo restante. No hallándose preparado por estudios anteriores para este género de trabajos, el Señor Bravo no tuvo éxito en su empresa, y hubo de dejar la colección de manuscritos referida de la que quedaba debiendo a sus colaboradores literarios y al editor de los dos primeros volúmenes de la publicación.

Esta colección es la que fue ofrecida en venta al Supremo Gobierno por mi intermedio hace dos años, y la que el Señor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores autorizó a V. S. [el Ministro de Chile en Francia] para adquirir, si lo juzgaba conveniente. Hasta hoy no se había tomado resolución en este particular, porque no habiendo habido ocasión de examinar personalmente los manuscritos, se ignoraba su calidad y si valían o no el gasto que iba a demandar su adquisición.

Como he dicho a V. S. antes, esta vez he tenido oportunidad para examinar la mencionada colección por mí mismo. Está contenida en diez enormes baúles, y separada en cajas de cartón figurando volúmenes, siguiendo la distribución el órden de las diversas secciones en que estuvo dividida la América Colonial. Esta clasificación permitiría formar un catálogo completo, papel por papel y legajo por legajo, de todo el contenido, sin gran dificultad ni empleo de tiempo y facilitaría la entrega de la colección para el uso público.

La sección correspondiente a Chile, aun cuando de las menos abundantes, se compone de muy interesantes documentos que a cualquiera costa debiera de adquirirse para la Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago. Hay entre ellos, cartas originales de los Padres Luis de Valdivia, Gaspar Sobrino, Luis del Castillo, Antonio y Gonzalo de Covarrubias, Diego Rosales, Alonso de Ovalle, &c, todos varones famosos en nuestros anales históricos, los unos como misioneros y pacificadores y los otros como cronistas chilenos. La parte de esta sección que se refiere a la guerra defensiva, con que, a proposición del Padre Valdivia se emprendió en 1610 la reducción de los Araucanos, es completísima bajo el punto de vista de los Padres misioneros, y aún hay entre sus papeles muchas de las informaciones adversas y críticas que hacían al nuevo plan los jefes militares que deseaban la continuación de la guerra activa. En esta misma sección se encuentran todos los documentos referentes a las propiedades rurales y urbanas que tuvo en Chile la Compañía de Jesús, con sus escrituras y planos, muchos de ellos coloreados, anexos. La falta de estos documentos ha producido en Chile, según ha llegado a mi noticia, mas de un litigio sobre deslindes de haciendas, y su existencia en la Biblioteca Nacional, aún cuando no hubiera de servir para dirimir cuestiones semejantes, sería siempre muy útil en un sentido meramente literario e histórico. No es menos considerable el número de cartas y expedientes relativos a los colegios, iglesias y misiones que los Jesuitas tenían a su cargo en todo la extensión del país.

Las secciones de la colección correspondientes al Perú y al Paraguay que incluía las Provincias de Tucumán y Río de la Plata, según la distribución de Provincias de los Jesuitas, tienen indudablemente muchísimos documentos que interesan igualmente a Chile y que serían de cierto valor en la presente cuestión de límites de cuyo estudio me hallo encargado.

Las partes que corresponden al Brasil, al Vireinato de Santa Fé y a Méjico son ya mas ajenas a Chile y no le interesan sino por una que otra incidencia directa, pues muchos de los religiosos que se distinguían en Chile solían ir a continuar sus trabajos en esas regiones y vice-versa; pero estas como las otras tienen intrinsecamente su valor para la historia de los países referidos y a caso sea la de Méjico la mas rica.

La colección entera se compone de trece mil piezas mas o menos, entendiéndose por pieza documentos y expedientes muchos de los cuales son voluminosos.

Todavía agrega en nota el señor Morla Vicuña estas otras noticias:

Esta colección fue adquirida por el Estado, y ha sido remitida a Chile. Yo emprendí su organización documento por documento, y aún hice el catálogo detallado de una parte considerable de ellos, pero en esta tarea, como en la del estudio de la cuestion de límites, fui interrumpido por las exigencias de la

última guerra [del Pacífico]. Conviene, sin embargo, que se imprima lo que hay hecho del catálogo, y será cosa sencilla el continuar en Santiago el arreglo y clasificación. La colección que se hallaba en poder del Señor Paz ha sido completado con varias otras partidas de papeles pertenecientes al mismo archivo, que se hallaban en manos de libreros revendedores de Madrid. Los manuscritos procedentes de las casas que tenían los Jesuitas en España, y que no se refieren a América se hallan desde hace años en poder de los eruditos Señores Zababuru, y estos con nuestra colección y los documentos escogidos regalados por el Señor Bravo a la Academia de la Historia de Madrid, constituyen todo lo que queda de los archivos secuestrados a la Compañía de Jesús cuando fué suprimida.¹

A lo expuesto por el señor Morla Vicuña conviene agregar que la mayor parte de los papeles de esta colección son posteriores a la expulsión de los Jesuitas de los dominios españoles, y consisten en los autos formados para dar cumplimiento a la orden de extrañamiento, en los inventarios y remates o administración de los bienes secuestrados y constancia de los pagos de las pensiones a los religiosos expulsos, algunos de los cuales vivían todavía cuando sobrevino la emancipación americana; encierra por tanto documentación correspondiente a todo el período colonial, y no solo de las colonias hispano-americanas sino también de Filipinas, Canarias y aún de algunas casas de la misma España.

Cuando el archivo llegó a la Biblioteca Nacional este establecimiento carecía todavía de un taller de encuadernación, de manera que era menester enviar a talleres particulares los libros y manuscritos para hacerlos empastar. Esto motivó una pérdida casi irreparable de unos cuarenta volúmenes que resultaron semi-destruidos en un incendio que ocurrió en la encuadernación donde se realizaba ese trabajo.

El número total de volúmenes incluso los deteriorados era de 498; pero a fin de facilitar la consulta se reunieron dos o mas libros de cuentas en un solo volumen, disminuyendo en 18 la suma total, que se distribuye de la siguiente manera:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Chile | Volúmenes numerados de 1 a 136A |
| España | 137 a 150 |
| España, Canarias y Filipinas | 151 |
| Italia (sobre las pensiones) | 152 y 153 |
| Bolivia | 154-170 y 436 y 437 |
| Perú | 171 a 232 |
| República Argentina | 233 a 298 |

¹ C. Morla Vicuña, *Estudio Histórico sobre el Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Patagonia y de la Tierra del Fuego*, pags. 34 y 35.

| | |
|--|--|
| Méjico | Volúmenes numerados de 299 a 380 |
| Paraguay | 381 y 382 |
| Quito | 383 a 396 |
| Bogotá | 397 a 419 |
| Panamá | 420 |
| Antillas | 421 a 425 |
| Filipinas | 426 a 428 |
| Varios | 429 a 435 |
| Semi-quemados en el incendio | 42 volúmenes guardados en catorce cajas. |

Aparte de la nomenclatura anacrónica, esta clasificación adolece indudablemente de un grave yerro cometido al no conservar la antigua separación de los documentos pertenecientes a cada Virreinato y Capitanías Generales de ellos dependientes, de manera que el investigador debe tener presente tal división geográfica de la América, para no exponerse a un posible fracaso, como le ocurría sin duda a quien se limitase a revisar los volúmenes 381 y 382 para recoger noticias del Paraguay y prescindiese de los sesenta y cinco referentes a la República Argentina.

El archivo de los Jesuítas ha sido utilizado por diversas repúblicas en las defensas de sus derechos en los litigios que han sostenido con los países vecinos sobre cuestiones de límites.

Está también llamado a servir de provechosa fuente de información para la etnografía americana, tanto para fijar las regiones donde vivía cada pueblo, como también por la abundancia de nombres indígenas geográficos o personales que se conservan en esos papeles.

Los inventarios de las bibliotecas, de los enseres y semovientes de las estancias, el número de los esclavos y de los bienes muebles en general, todo ofrece un vasto campo para la investigación histórica, que permitirá conocer mejor no solo la actuación tan discutida de la Compañía de Jesús sino también el grado de desarrollo de la sociedad colonial.

Archivo de los Escribanos.—Comienza con un fragmento del registro del escribano Pedro de Salcedo del año 1559; le sigue un volumen de Juan de la Peña, 1564-1566; otros fragmentos de los protocolos de Alonso del Castillo 1578, 1579, 1580, 1593 y 1594 y desde 1585 hasta 1800 siguen ya los registros sin solución de continuidad, aún cuando faltan uno que otro protocolo de algunos de los varios escribanos que desempeñaban al mismo tiempo sus funciones.

Aparte de los protocolos de Santiago, existe un volumen con fragmentos de registros de diversos notarios de Concepción que actuaron entre los años de 1769 y 1843.

El número total de las escrituras excede tal vez de 200,000 y su contenido suministra el más vivo y fiel cuadro de lo que fué Chile y de lo que fueron nuestros mayores en pasados siglos. La variación de las costumbres sobre todo es fácil de comprobar y aún de seguir su evolución examinando esos documentos.

Los testamentos eran más comunes que hoy y en ellos nadie dejaba de encomendar su alma a Dios y a los santos, de hacer protestas de fe; algunos añadían datos minuciosos sobre su vida o su progenie y muchas declaraciones por demás curiosas. El testamento más extenso es el del Maestre de Campo General Jerónimo de Quiroga, otorgado en 1716 y consta de 141 páginas.

Las cartas de dotes, o sea la constancia del caudal que de ordinario entregaban los padres o deudos de la novia al marido al tiempo de celebrarse el matrimonio, son asimismo muy numerosas y recuerdan una costumbre que ha caído ya en total desuso.

Entre las escrituras curiosas conviene recordar las promesas de no jugar, de no hacer préstamos u otras semejantes, en que el otorgante se imponía no solo multa a beneficio del denunciante, de la Real Hacienda o de alguna institución religiosa, sino que también se condenaba a sí mismo a sufrir una prisión por un tiempo señalado; las escrituras de perdón de algun delito, extendidas por lo común previo arreglo pecuniario entre los interesados; los testimonios de acontecimientos reputados como milagrosos; las "exclamaciones", instrumentos en que los firmantes declaraban haber suscrito otras escrituras contra su voluntad y a los que por consiguiente les negaban todo valor o efecto; los "asientos" o contratos de servicios domésticos y sobre otra variedad de asuntos.

En el Archivo de los Escribanos se puede observar el desenvolvimiento de la sociedad, la evolución de las costumbres, el progreso de la industria y del comercio y en general, de la Colonia misma.

Archivo de la Real Audiencia.—Este tribunal se estableció primitivamente en Concepción en 1568; suprimido en 1575; fué restablecido en Santiago en 1609, donde funcionó hasta 1817, exceptuando un corto período de la Patria Vieja, 1811-1814.

Existen, sin embargo, en este archivo expedientes antiguos desde 1552, otros varios iniciados asimismo en el siglo XVI, documentos en copia desde 1544 y originales desde 1550; pero la gran mayoría de las piezas son posteriores a la creación de la Audiencia de Santiago.

Como la esfera de acción de la Real Audiencia era mucho mayor que la de los actuales tribunales de Justicia, ejerciendo además funciones fiscalizadoras sobre las demás autoridades del país, se han en este

archivo muchos expedientes, sobre competencias de jurisdicción, aplicación de leyes o reglamentos, cuestiones de etiquetas, recursos de fuerza, etc. Pero entre todos los de mayor interés para la historia son los juicios de residencia, que como se sabe, se instruían a los Presidentes y Capitanes Generales, Corregidores y demás autoridades subalternas al cesar en sus funciones, y en los que después de oír los cargos que le hacían los agraviados, y los descargos del funcionario cesante se le condenaba o absolvía según el mérito que arrojasen los autos.

La materia de los procesos y juicios entre partes no difieren, como es fácil presumirlo, de los que se promueven ahora. Hay, sin embargo, muchos expedientes seguidos entre esclavos o indios y sus amos o encomenderos, por malos tratamientos y otros agravios que les inferían, los que son provechosos para conocer las relaciones de las diversas castas entre sí y las leyes que protegían a las inferiores contra los abusos del peninsular.

El número aproximado y de las piezas que contiene es de 14,000 clasificadas como sigue:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Pleitos civiles ordinarios | 10,200 |
| Expedientes de valor histórico | 2,200 |
| Expedientes sobre encomiendas de indios, esclavos, etc. | 700 |
| Expedientes en materia criminal | 600 |
| Expedientes sobre minas | 300 |

Completan este archivo una colección de reales provisiones, sentencias de vista o revista expedidas por la Real Audiencia durante todo el tiempo que funcionó. Esta serie de papeles que forman hasta el presente mas de 60 volúmenes y quedan todavía muchos otros por ordenar es particularmente interesante por cuanto se hallan noticias de muchos expedientes perdidos y a veces la síntesis completa, con inserción de los documentos principales en las sentencias pronunciadas por el Tribunal.

Archivo Vicuña Mackenna.—Como acontece con frecuencia en colecciones particulares la composición de esta es heterogénea, componiéndola principalmente apuntes y borradores originales del señor Vicuña Mackenna; su archivo y correspondencia particular; una serie de copias tomadas en el Archivo de Indias; documentos y cartas sobre los principales acontecimientos políticos ocurridos en Chile y de las personajes que actuaron en ellos; multitud de recortes de diarios o revistas; expedientes coloniales, etc.

Sobresalen por su valor los archivos que pertenecieron a los Padres de la Patria Generales don Bernardo O'Higgins y don José Miguel

Carrera y el manuscrito original de la Historia de Chile del Padre Diego Rosales.

Archivo Morla Vicuña.—Consta principalmente de dos grandes grupos de papeles, a saber: los borradores autográficos de don Claudio Gay, los documentos originales y las copias de otros coleccionados por el mismo señor Gay para escribir su *Historia de Chile*; y las copias tomadas en España por don Carlos Morla Vicuña para su *Estudio Histórico sobre el descubrimiento y conquista de la Patagonia y de la Tierra del Fuego* y sobre todo para la defensa de los derechos de Chile en la cuestión de límites con la República Argentina.

El archivo está distribuido en la forma siguiente:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Manuscrito de la Historia de Chile, de Gay | Vols. 1 a 7 |
| Manuscritos antiguos originales | " 8 a 40 |
| Manuscritos antiguos y apuntes tomados por Gay | " 41 y 42 |
| Copias de documentos, reunidas por Gay | " 43 a 53 |
| Copia de la Relación Geográfica e Hidrográfica del Reino de Chile enviada al Rey por el Presidente don Manuel de Amat en 1761 | " 54 |
| Documentos Geográficos sobre Chile | " 55 |
| Copias y extractos de papeles antiguos sobre Chile | " 56 |
| Copias de antiguos cronistas e historiadores de Chile, Pineda Bascuñan, Córdoba y Figueroa, Olivares, Pérez García, Martínez, etc. | " 57 a 65 |
| Copias de "Diarios de Navegación" | 66 |
| Copia de la Historia del Reino de Chile por Fray Antonio Lora, 1780 | 67 |
| Copia del Diario político de don José Miguel Carrera | 68 |
| Copia de la Historia de la revolución de Chile, por fray Melchor Martínez | " 69 |
| Atlas con cartas geográficas de Chile | " 70 |
| Papeles originales sobre el gobierno de la isla de Juan Fernández, 1832-1834 | " 71 |
| Copias de documentos del Archivo de Indias | " 72 a 123 |
| Relación original sobre la navegación del Río Bermejo, 1790 | " 124 |
| Memoria del Virrey de Buenos Aires Marqués de Loreto, 1790 | " 125 |

Archivo de la Guerra del Pacífico.—Formado casi en su totalidad por la documentación del Estado Mayor del ejército peruano; que cayó en poder de los chilenos a fines de 1879. Es el complemento de la documentación y de mucha utilidad para juzgar con mayor acierto e imparcialidad sobre la primera etapa del conflicto internacional.

Se distribuye como sigue:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Notas oficiales, abril a noviembre 1879 | Vols. 1 a 7 |
| Asuntos reservados | " 8 |
| Ordenes generales a la Reserva | " 9 |
| Estados diarios de las fuerzas, altas, bajas, etc. | " 10 a 13 |
| Cuentas sobre aprovisionamiento, gastos de hospitales militares, etc | " 14 a 17 |
| Copiador de instrucciones, decretos y pasaportes | " 18 |
| General en Jefe y Comandantes Generales de división | " 19 |
| Comunicaciones con diversas autoridades | " 20 |
| Correspondencia General | " 21 y 22 |
| Mesa de partes (Índice alfabético de individuos del ejército y de noticias a ellos pertinentes) | " 23 |
| Copias de Comunicaciones telegráficas | " 24 |
| Parque General y su delegación | " 25 |
| Provisión General y sus dependencias | " 26 |
| Comisaría General y su delegación | " 27 |
| Correspondencia de la Comandancia General Naval | " 28 |
| Altas y bajas de armamento | " 29 |
| Diario de Bitácora del monitor Huascar, desde abril de 1879 hasta su captura en el combate de Angamos, 8 de octubre del mismo año | " 30 |
| Diario de la campaña comenzada el día 16 de mayo de 1879, contra Chile, a bordo del monitor Huascar, escrito por el teniente 2° don Jorge F. Velarde. Este marino pereció en el combate de Iquique (21 de mayo de 1879) y siguió el Diario hasta el 29 del mismo mes el teniente 2° graduado don Pedro Gázezon | " 31 |
| Diario del capitán de fragata de la marina chilena don Manuel Thompson, de marzo a junio de 1879 | " 32 |
| Diario de navegación del aspirante don Ernesto Riquelme, a bordo de la <i>Esmeralda</i> y <i>Covadonga</i> 1874-1875. Riquelme fue uno de los heroes de la epopeya de Iquique y la <i>Esmeralda</i> y la <i>Covadonga</i> las naves chilenas que en ella tomaron parte | " 33 |

Archivo Judicial de Concepción.—Compuesto por juicios criminales y civiles, contiene algunos procesos por conspiraciones subversivas que pueden interesar para la historia política; comienza en 1810 y alcanza hasta 1854.

Archivos de las Intendencias de Concepción y Biobío.—El primero corresponde a los años de 1819 a 1840 y el segundo a los de 1829 a 1875, y ambos son netamente administrativos. En el de Concepción se hallan sin embargo algunos documentos tocantes a la campaña de Chiloé que concluyó allí con la dominación española en 1826.

Copias de la Oficina Hidrográfica.—Son copias de documentos tocantes a la historia náutica, que en gran parte corren impresos en el Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile.

Archivo de la Gobernación De Angol.—También es archivo moderno, de carácter administrativo, que puede servir para estudiar cuestiones relacionadas con los indios y su pacificación definitiva.

Archivo del Cabildo de la Serena.—Comienza en el año 1680 y concluye en 1818, pero existen además algunos documentos anteriores y posteriores a los años indicados. La clasificación de las materias de los papeles es la que sigue:

| | | |
|------------------|---|-----------|
| Volúmenes 1 a 3— | Actas del Cabildo | 1778-1800 |
| " 4 a 9— | Cédulas, bandos, etc | 1698-1823 |
| " 10 y 11— | Reales provisiones | 1680-1813 |
| " 12 y 13— | Visitas de indios | 1692-1792 |
| " 14 y 16— | Causas civiles | 1682-1818 |
| " 17— | Causas criminales | 1720-1813 |
| " 18 a 21— | Expedientes sobre minas | 1714-1812 |
| " 22 a 25— | Oficios y comunicaciones diversas | 1780-1814 |
| " 26— | Hospital | 1740-1816 |
| " 27— | Sobre milicias | 1775-1814 |
| " 28— | Asuntos tocantes a los indios | 1690-1811 |
| " 29 a 31— | Materias de Gobierno | 1600-1808 |
| " 32— | Rentas de Balanza y Propios | 1810-1817 |
| " 33— | Rentas del Estanco | 1755-1813 |
| " 34— | Expedientes sobre tierras | 1790-1817 |
| " 35— | Copias de diferentes escrituras | 1716-1892 |
| " 36— | Libro de recibos de San Agustín | |

Este archivo contiene sin duda algunos papeles útiles para completar la historia de varios incidentes de la guerra de la Independencia; pero los más importantes son los que se refieren a los indígenas, por relacionarse con la etnología chilena muy poco estudiada y que en Coquimbo reviste mayor interés por haber estado sometido sus habitantes a la influencia de culturas americanas diversas por el norte y este y probablemente también por el sur.

Manuscritos Diversos.—Son dignos de mención entre estos documentos un mapa o croquis de Chile, dibujado en España en 1768, por don Ambrosio O'Higgins, después Presidente de Chile y Virrey del Perú, con el objeto de dar una idea del número y ubicación de las propiedades de los Jesuitas expulsos; un "Antiguo Testamento" al que don J. Sylvester, profesor de idiomas y de hebreo en el colegio rabínico de Varsovia, calculó una antigüedad de mil años, basándose en la alteración del color del pergamino, desgaste de los hilos, o cuerdas de violín,

de las costuras y en los caracteres muy imperfectos de la escritura, según lo expresó en un informe de fecha 30 de agosto de 1875; y dos planos, levantados en 1760 por orden del Virrey del Perú don Manuel de Amat, y que contienen un proyecto de irrigación de los valles de Arica y Tarapacá.

Estos últimos podrán quizás servir de base para un estudio sobre una posible modificación de las condiciones meteorológicas y climatéricas de esas provincias, porque hay marcadas regiones "que eran cultivadas antes cuando llovía" y otras que lo eran todavía en 1760 y que sin embargo son ahora estériles. Los datos consignados en esos planos concuerdan con los que existen en la parroquia de Iquique en expedientes encaminados a refrenar los desórdenes e inmoralidades de que eran teatro esas regiones en tiempo de las cosechas. Existen además otros indicios y aún fundamentos para creer que las condiciones inhospitalarias de los desiertos del norte de Chile han empeorado en los cuatro últimos siglos, pero esa materia no puede dilucidarse en este artículo.

Entre los otros manuscritos se pueden recordar "El Vasauro", poema inédito del licenciado Pedro de Oña, el más antiguo de los poetas chilenos, nacido en Angol en 1570; y la Historia de la provincia dd Chiloé bajo la dominación española, escrita en cuatro volúmenes, y que dejó inconclusa don Abraham de Silva, muerto prematuramente en diciembre de 1908.

III. DISPOSICIONES, FACILIDADES, Y CATÁLOGOS PARA LA CONSULTA DE LA SECCIÓN

El título VIII del Reglamento de le Biblioteca Nacional decretado el 12 de Junio de 1890, se refiere a la Sección de Manuscritos y tocante a la consulta de los documentos contiene estas disposiciones:

Art. 17.—Son obligaciones del Jefe de esta sección:

1ª. Facilitar a los lectores los manuscritos que soliciten, previa entrega de un recibo firmado en que se exprese la fecha de la solicitud, el número del volumen, el archivo a que pertenece y el domicilio del solicitante;

2ª. Cuidar que las personas que sacan copias o apuntes no deterioren o manchen los manuscritos escribiendo sobre ellos o haciéndoles cualquiera clase de señales.

Art. 18.—No se podrán sacar de los manuscritos especialmente reservados sin permiso del Director.

Art. 19.—La serie de manuscritos reservados constará de un índice formado por el Director y aprobado por el Ministro de Instrucción Pública.

Art. 20.—Los jóvenes menores de 20 años no podrán ser admitidos en esta sección en calidad de lectores.

Dentro de estas disposiciones se procura dar al público todas las facilidades para que pueda trabajar con mayor provecho y comodidad.

La catalogación de los manuscritos es deficiente todavía; pero la subdivisión de los archivos y el ordenamiento cronológico de algunos de ellos simplifica y acelera de ordinario la investigación.

El mejor de los catálogos existentes y que servirá de modelo para los futuros es el del archivo de la Real Audiencia. Adolece tal vez del defecto de ser demasiado voluminoso por el tipo de letra muy grande usado en la impresión, pero en cambio es fácil de manejar. Consta de tres tomos, que comprenden 6210 piezas, contenidas en los volúmenes numerados de 1 a 2100 inclusive.

Como la mayor parte de las piezas son juicios entre partes se han colocado las descripciones de ellas por el orden alfabético de los apellidos de los demandantes, o de la persona, funcionario, o corporación a quien interese principalmente o se refiera la pieza catalogada. Se añaden además citas, o llamadas, con los nombres de los demandados y notas debajo de la descripción principal en que se mencionan los documentos principales, reales cédulas, mercedes y planos de mensuras de tierras, cartas dotales, testamentos o poderes para testar, y en general de aquellos de valor histórico y que sin ese procedimiento sería difícil descubrir, y de todos se hacen asimismo llamadas en el orden alfabético indicado. La trascripción que sigue dará a comprender mejor el procedimiento seguido:

ALHUÉ (Tierras de).—Véase *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

GUZMÁN (Beatriz de).—Véase *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

1000 MERCED (Convento de la).—Juicio seguido con Guzmán (Beatriz de), sobre mejor derecho a las tierras del valle de *Alhué*. 1634-1643.

Vol. 310.—309 hojas.—La primera parte de este juicio se encuentra en la pieza 2ª del volumen 599.

Contiene el testamento de don Rodrigo de Quiroga (24 de febrero de 1580); y una merced, en copia, hecha por don Pedro de Valdivia a favor de doña Inés Suárez de las tierras del valle de *Alhué* (11 de julio de 1546).

QUIROGA (Rodrigo de).—Véase *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

SUÁREZ (Inés).—Véase *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

VALDIVIA (Pedro de).—Véase *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

Como se ve, esta pieza tiene cinco referencias, y quien busque noticias de las personas mencionadas, o de las tierras en litigio, o en general de la historia de esa época tiene a su alcance los datos que necesita para orientar la investigación.

El catálogo del archivo de los Jesuitas referente a Chile, está confeccionado de una manera análoga, pero contiene una doble referencia

a los páginas del volúmen y hojas de que consta la pieza, lo que suele entorpecer el manejo, para quien no está habituado a consultar ese índice. Las referencias se hallan escritas en la forma que sigue: 1797. Vol. 86, p. 10, pág. 263 hojas 19; o sea; ano 1797; volúmen 86, pieza 10^a, página 263, del volumen y en la que comienza la pieza; 19 hojas, son las que forman el manuscrito.

El catálogo de la Capitanía General es más bien un inventario, y no completo, de las piezas que contiene cada volumen. Con todo, aunque su consulta sea más lenta e insegura que la de los catálogos de la Real Audiencia y de los Jesuítas, su revisión facilita mucho la investigación. Se ha comenzado además la catalogación minuciosa de este archivo, con muy buen resultado, pues los primeros setenta volúmenes han dado más de 2,000 piezas, o sea un 40 por ciento mas de las 1245 que constan en el índice actual, sin las referencias que de seguro excederán de 3,000. Diferencia tan grande se debe a que el primer trabajo hubo de realizarse en un corto plazo, dentro del cual era imposible catalogar multitud de solicitudes y pequeños expedientes de una, dos o tres fojas de extensión, pero que exigía cada uno tanto tiempo como un voluminoso legajo, los que por este motivo quedaron englobados bajo el rubro de primera, segunda, o tercera serie de papeles diversos.

El catálogo del archivo Vicuña Mackenna es también un mero inventario, con algunos comentarios sobre el valor de ciertos documentos. Consta de 229 páginas en 4° a dos columnas y puede revisarse con rapidez porque está subdividido en series de papeles de muy diversa naturaleza y que nadie ha de revisar al mismo tiempo, como puede comprobarse comparando algunas de las principales que se indican a continuación.

Vols. 33 a 35—La revolución del 20 de abril de 1851.

“ 42 a 44—La Guerra a muerte. 1819-1820.

“ 47 a 50—La revolución de 1859.

“ 85 á 112—Archivo del General O'Higgins.

“ 113 a 122—Archivo del General Carrera.

“ 195 a 221—Campaña contra el Perú y Bolivia. 1837-1839.

“ 222 a 255—Campaña contra el Perú y Bolivia, 1879-1883; y otros sucesos referentes a ese período.

“ 265 a 304—Copias de documentos del Archivo de Indias de Simancas, 1532-1700.

Para facilitar la consulta del archivo de los Escribanos se ha impreso una “Guía” en la que se enumeran los testamentos y poderes para testar, las cartas de dotes y algunos otros documentos de especial interés. La parte publicada ya comprende hasta el volumen 591, pero

se continua la impresión de lo restante. Además muchos de los volúmenes tienen índice de las escrituras que contienen, de manera que la revisión o búsqueda de documentos no ofrece gran dificultad.

De los demás archivos sólo existen inventarios manuscritos y aun algunos carecen de ellos por no ser posible su confección sin ordenar previamente los papeles que contienen y que ingresaron a la Sección completamente revueltos.

Próxima a ser trasladada provisionalmente al nuevo edificio de la Biblioteca Nacional, mientras se construye el extenso y cómodo local que con tal objeto se levantará al costado poniente del mencionado palacio de la Biblioteca, la Sección de Manuscritos quedará organizada definitivamente en poco tiempo más, en condiciones que le permitan eliminar los defectos de que adolece ahora y experimentar sin tropiezos el ensanche de sus servicios, consiguiente a su violento desarrollo a causa de los nuevos archivos que recibirá entonces, y que la convertirán en uno de los más ricos, sino en el más valioso, de los archivos históricos de la América hispánica.

TOMÁS THAYER OJEDA,

Jefe de la Sección de Manuscritos
de la Biblioteca Nacional de San-
tiago de Chile.

[TRANSLATION]

THE MANUSCRIPTS SECTION OF THE BIBLIOTECA
NACIONAL OF CHILE

I. ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

By virtue of a special law, the government of Chile, in 1846, acquired the library of the illustrious patriot, Don Mariano Egaña. A portion of this library consisted of a collection of manuscripts treating of the most varied matters, which served later as a base for the creation of the Manuscripts Section of the Biblioteca Nacional. This was the sixth section of the above institution at the time of the enactment of the Ordinance of August 8, 1861.

A few years later, in 1867, the collection consisted of six hundred pieces distributed in 113 volumes, to wit: 48 folio volumes, 60 quarto, and 5 octavo.

In May, 1876, there was added to the Biblioteca Nacional the private library of Monseñor Don José Ignacio Victor Eyzaguirre, which contained, in addition to 4,000 books, a collection of documents which the erudite and progressive priest bequeathed to the above mentioned institution.

In succession there were added to these collections another series of papers used by Don Claudio Gay in writing his *Historia General de Chile*; the books and expedientes of cases in the tribunal of the *Consulado*; and the archives of the general staff of the Peruvian army relative to the first stage of the war of the Pacific, which had come into the possession of the Chilean army in 1879.

In July, 1885, a wellknown journalist and an active investigator of the national history, Don Justo Abel Rosales, published an extensive article, bristling with facts, in which he pleaded for the creation of a real Manuscripts Section, in which should be housed the several historical archives scattered about in various public offices. Until that time the Biblioteca Nacional had only 116 volumes of manuscripts of the Fondo Antiguo, 12 volumes of Royal cédulas, many of which were printed, and 223 legajos of unbound and uncatalogued documents from the archives of Eyzaguirre, the *Consulado*, the War of the Pacific, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, which represent, at the most some 1250 volumes more, valuable beyond any doubt, but at that time almost impossible of consultation.

In spite of its creation, the Manuscripts Section led a languid existence until a new director of the library, in 1886, namely, Don Luis Montt, gave it a vigorous impulse. Thanks to his efforts, the following collections were joined to it: the Archives of the old Capitanía General, the transfer of which was ordered by a supreme decree of September 25 of that year; the Registers of the Notaries of Santiago; the Archives of the Royal Audiencia, of the Contaduría Mayor, of the Intendencias of Bío-bío and part of the Judicial district of Concepción. At that time the manuscript collection of the famous Chilean author and politician, Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna was also acquired, as well as the archives of Don Carlos Morla Vicuña, which were presented by his widow, and another series of documents scattered about here and there in the possession of private persons.

Señor Montt, who united with his vast bibliographical erudition, his interest in the study of our national history, thus gave practical form to what he was wont to repeat frequently as an aphorism, namely, "There is no such a thing as a useless paper", and his elevated judg-

ment successfully prevailed over the judgment of those persons who were of the opinion that some of those rich archives ought to be destroyed as now totally lacking in value.

Señor Montt must, therefore, be considered to be the real creator of the Section, in that he worked not only as an investigator but also in the revision of the catalogues and even in the arrangement itself of the papers.

Upon the death of Señor Montt in 1910, the Manuscripts Section already had 12,500 volumes, distributed in the following form:

| <i>Archives</i> | <i>Volumes</i> |
|--|----------------|
| Old archives of the Library | 198 |
| Capitanía General | 1,045 |
| Collection of cédulas | 104 |
| Consulado | 50 |
| Mining tribunal | 14 |
| Contaduría Mayor | 5,000 |
| Copies of manuscripts from Archivo de Indias | 63 |
| Eyzaguirre | 60 |
| Inquisition | 600 |
| Jesuits | 467 |
| Notaries (1559-1800) | 976 |
| Royal Audiencia | 3,098 |
| Vicuña Mackenna | 336 |
| Morla Vicuña | 125 |
| War of the Pacific (1879) | 33 |
| Judicial district of Concepción (1820-1854) | 90 |
| Intendency of Concepción | 136 |
| Intendency of Biobío | 105 |
| Copies from the Hydrographic Office | 19 |
| Total | 12,519 |

Unfortunately the rooms of the Biblioteca Nacional set aside for the Manuscripts Section proved to be small. Moreover, it was even necessary to demolish one of them in order to facilitate the construction of the palace of the Tribunals, and the other rooms were damaged in consequence of the earthquake of August, 1906. Nevertheless, in the last decade, 328 volumes have been received in the Section, as follows:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Archives of the Cabildo de la Serena | 36 |
| Archives of the Government of Angol | 59 |
| Private archives of Don Benjamin Vicuña M. | 52 |
| Archives of the Fondo Antiguo | 23 |
| Added to various archives | 158 |

Within a very short time will be begun the construction of that part of the new building of the Biblioteca Nacional which has been set aside for the Manuscripts Section. With a shelving capacity of more than 200,000 volumes, and provided with all the conveniences necessary for keeping them safe and making them easy of consultation, the Section is called upon to experience a rapid increase. It can be estimated that the Section will immediately duplicate its present collection of 13,000 volumes when it receives the old notarial archives, those of the Intendencies and Governments and the judicial records of the colonial corregidor districts, besides many others which are now scattered about the provinces from one end of the Republic to the other.

II. PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL ARCHIVES

The heterogeneous make-up of some of the archives renders it a difficult task to give a slight idea of each of them—a disadvantage rendered much greater since the value of the documents varies according to whether they are estimated at their intrinsic value, according to their rarity, according to the rank of the persons from whom they proceed, or according to the interesting details set forth in them or having a bearing on their origin, or according to another series of causes which it is even difficult to remember in a moment. The review will consequently be incomplete because of the omission of matters of interest concerning them, and faulty because of the brevity with which it is necessary to discuss the rest in order not to spin out this article to a greater length than belongs to it from its character.

Archives of the Fondo Antiguo.—This consists of 223 volumes composed of matters so different that taken as a whole they resemble an encyclopedia. Among them are found works of jurisprudence, law reports, judicial memoirs, royal cédulas; didactic and theological texts and works of literature, poetry, and history; notes on Chilean medicine, mineralogy, and meteorology, public works, education, government matters, logs of voyages, commerce, industry, arts, statistics, etc., and a collection of documents relative to the tribunal of the Inquisition or to the history of Chile, copied from the Archives of the Indies of Simancas.

As curiosities may be enumerated the original manuscripts of the *Crónica del Reyno de Chile*, by Mariño de Lobera, 1595; of the *Cautiverio Feliz*, by Pineda y Bascuñan, 1673; the Register of Spaniards and Indians of the Province of Chiloe, 1785; the *Cronicón Sacro-Impe-*

rial de Chile, by Ramírez, 1895; the preliminaries in regard to the founding of the College of the Natives, the erection of the Academy of San Luis in 1796, the plan of studies and creation of the Instituto Nacional in 1813; the letters and papers of Vera y Pintado, Don Manuel de Salas, Father Camilo Henriquez, and other patriots of American independence.

Archivo de la Capitanía General.—This contains the papers relating to the political and military government during the colony. There are very few pieces belonging to the sixteenth century, but they increase gradually, and indeed from the middle of the following and up to the first years of the nineteenth century the documentation is varied and abundant. The total number of pieces is estimated at more than 20,000.

The archives are subdivided into various sections, in each of which certain matters predominate, although there is really no hard and fast classification. Following the numerical order of the volumes, the matters to which these refer are as follows:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Private causes | Vols. 1-227 |
| Causes relating to mines | " 228-279 |
| Criminal causes | " 280-339 |
| Expedientes relative to the alcabala | " 340-357 |
| Expedientes relative to navigation | " 358-381 |
| Books of attorneys | " 382-383 |
| Administrative matters | " 384-422 |
| Expedientes relative to Temporalities of the Jesuits . . | " 423-472 |
| In regard to grants of land and encomiendas of Indians | " 473-566 |
| Private petitions, memorials regarding services, de- nouncements of waste lands, etc | " 567-575 |
| Expedientes relative to the jurisdiction of Aconcagua . | " 576-577 |
| Surplus lands | " 578-579 |
| Ancient memorials | " 580 |
| Expedientes relative to foreigners | " 581 |
| Various receipts | " 582-584 |
| Mercantile matters | " 586-589 |
| Relative to the warehouses of Valparaiso | " 590-596 |
| Relative to public functionaries | " 597-609 |
| Relative to notaries public | " 610-621 |
| Relative to public works, official correspondence, private administrative matters of the royal treasury | " 622-714 |
| Collection of royal cédulas, 1576-1816 | " 715-798 |
| Official correspondence, copy books of decrees, edicts, resolutions, and other governmental matters . . . | " 799-814 |
| Relative to the militia, army, pensions, fortifications, residencia judgments, subsidies, garrisons, war with England, government of Juan Fernández, fortified towns, and presidios and repairs of barracks. . . . | " 815-876 |

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Relative to debts and public wealth, the half annats, consolidated capitals, imposts, balance, gifts, customs, guards, confiscations, royal treasury, incomes, and tithes | Vols. 877-927 |
| Urban police, public works, foundations of towns and cities, mints, mails, roads, bridges, cutwaters and canal of Maipo | " 928-954 |
| Relative to the encouragement of agriculture, the Carolino College, the college for the natives, and the University | " 955-959 |
| Relative to prisons, <i>obras pias</i> , hospitals, and epidemics | " 960-967 |
| Elections and auctions of public offices, and other similar expedientes of the cabildos of Cuyo and Concepción | " 968-998 |
| Ecclesiastical matters, Jesuits, etc | " 999-1036 |

The volumes following belong to the period of independence or to that of the Republic, and are of a purely administrative character.

Estimated as a whole, the archives of the Capitanía General are the best for a study of the institutions of colonial government, which are very little known as yet, but very poorly estimated by the generality of historians.

It is difficult to give a clear idea of the real importance of these archives for historical investigations relative to the above mentioned title. However, we shall endeavor to set forth a few details.

The correspondence of the president with subordinate officials during the years 1781-1804 consists of 17,970 pieces bound in 11 volumes. Many of them are circulars sent simultaneously to many functionaries.

The confidential correspondence with the king is copied into five volumes and contains about 3,000 letters written during the same period of time. These five volumes alone have supplied enough material for an interesting and useful piece of work which was planned and will be concluded during the present year by Professor Charles E. Chapman with a group of students of the Instituto Pedagógico.

The copybooks of grants of lands and encomiendas of Indians made between the years 1670 and 1708 number fourteen and contain 420 land titles and about 900 encomienda titles. The first are useful for ascertaining the origin of rural property and for the reconstruction of the native place names, while the second contain many lists of Indians with thousands of native names, a rich and unexploited material for the study of American philology, as well as memorials and certificates of rewards and services and of lists of the most prominent members of colonial society.

Among the administrative expedientes those are of special interest which relate to the foundations of cities, towns, and forts; those concerning conferences with the Indians, of the Araucanian war, and of the attempts to convert the natives to the Christian faith or to civilize them; and lastly, sentences of residencias and other processes drawn up for the purpose of setting forth the conduct of subordinate officials and other functionaries in the discharge of their duties.

Archives of Cédulas and Royal Orders.—These archives contain over 8,000 pieces all belonging to the colonial period, one-tenth perhaps of which are printed. In addition there are ten other volumes containing indices and copies of documents of this class which are kept in the Archives of the Royal Audiencia, Contaduría Mayor, Archbishopric, Municipality of Santiago, and in the ancient Archives of the Cabildo de la Serena. Although it may not be necessary to state as much, all those documents contain resolutions and royal orders both of a general and particular nature in regard to the government of Chile. Among these last named there are a multitude of appointments of civil and military functionaries, concessions of rewards and pensions, permissions to contract matrimony, pardons from fines, expulsion or naturalization of foreigners, and many other matters. Of course those of general interest, such as laws, ordinances, regulations, and explanation or interpretation of their provisions are of chief importance.

Archives of Mining Tribunal.—This tribunal was created in Chile in fulfilment of a royal order given in Aranjuez, February 12, 1797. It contains a large portion of the expedientes drawn up by the administrator general of the department of mining, Don Antonio Martínez de Mata, in his general inspection of all the mining settlements of the country which was made during the years 1788–1790, for the purpose of creating and defining the boundaries of the deputations, examining into the condition of mine labor, sugar mills, and foundries, and ascertaining the urgent needs in order to encourage the development of mining in Chile. There are similar expedientes, but of less importance belonging to the latter years of the colonial period, as well as lawsuits between parties.

Supplemental to these archives because of the material which they contain are volumes 228–279 of the Archives of the Capitanía General, comprehending petitions and mine sentences which were made before the creation of the special tribunal.

Aside from their usefulness in ascertaining the development of mining in Chile, these archives offer an unexploited and lucrative field as a

base for the organization of mining explorations in old and perhaps rich mine districts which are abandoned or unknown at present.

Archives of the Tribunal of the Consulado.—These contain documents and expedientes which passed before this tribunal which was created in obedience to a royal order dated March 28, 1795, for encouraging the development of commerce and trying matters purely commercial.

Archives of the Contaduría Mayor.—In these rich archives are kept whatever bears on the collection or expenditure of the revenue of the royal treasury. They contain some documents of the sixteenth century, and very many documents of the following centuries down to 1840, the year to which those conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional go.

In reality these archives are made up from no less than a score of different archives, from as many other offices or administrative divisions. Chief of these latter are those of the treasuries of Santiago and Concepción; the custom houses of Valparaíso, Copiapo, Huasco, Coquimbo, Constitución, Talcahuano, Valdivia, and Chiloé; those of the mint; those of the tobacco revenue; and those of the construction of public works, bridges, cutwaters, etc.

Historically considered, the richest documentation is that relating to the armies, both royalist and patriotic, which fought in the war for independence. The muster lists will allow the reconstruction of both armies, to learn the effectives who fought in the battles, the list of casualties suffered, and even the names of those killed or wounded. Other documents give news of the armaments, reveal details, permit the remaking of service sheets, and at times even show military plans.

As the rendition of accounts was very tedious, there are found as proofs of the items of receipts and expenses, entire copies of memorials or patents of rewards or appointments in which appear the services of those favored; of documents proving the foreign status of those who were to pay the tax to which foreigners were liable; details of the production of the manufactures of rigging, cloth, blankets, etc., for supplying the army; and many other vouchers of very different kinds, but which may be of use in special investigations relative to foreign immigration and the development of industries during the colonial period; to the development of commercial importing and exporting after the gaining of independence, and, in general, to matters connected with political economy.

Archives of Copies from Archivo de Indias.—These consist of copies of documents relative to Chile conserved in the Archivo de Indias of Seville. These documents were discovered during the investigations

of Señores Vicuña Mackenna, Medina, and Morla Vicuña, and other investigators of Chile. Some have been published in the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* of Señor Medina, in the *Estudio Histórico* of Señor Morla Vicuña, and in various works of Señor Vicuña Mackenna, but the greater part of them have not yet been used for investigating the study of the history of the country.

Archives of Eyzaguirre.—These contain papers on very diverse matters, although those of a religious nature predominate. Among them are found expedientes relative to the episcopal visits of Bishop Alday to the diocese of Santiago and of Bishop Marán to that of Concepción; the appeal sanctioned by Rodríguez Zorrilla against the ecclesiastical cabildo of Santiago in 1808; and papers relative to the bishop of Epifania.

Among the most interesting works may be cited the narratives of the voyages of Father Mascardi to the regions of the Nahuelhuapi, 1667–1672 and of Don Luis de la Cruz from Concepción to Buenos Aires, 1806; the originals of the histories of Córdoba y Figueroa and of Rodríguez Ballesteros; and a journal of the events occurring in Santiago during the years 1765–1773, written by Don Fernando Antonio de los Ríos, vice rector of the University of San Felipe.

But the most important papers of these archives are those pertaining to the period of the war of independence and among these especially one volume of original decrees of the government *juntas* corresponding to the years 1810–1816, and lastly, during the republican period, the process drawn up against Admiral Blanco Encalada in 1821.

Archives of the Inquisition.—These contain almost exclusively papers relative to the economic side of the tribunal of the Holy Office; for instance, auctions of the goods of condemned persons, executions, and collections of debts which other persons allotted as pensions or for other reasons in favor of the same tribunal. There exist, however, copies of letters or communications with other Spanish tribunals.

The seat of the tribunal of the Inquisition was at Lima, but its jurisdiction embraced all the Pacific coast from Panama down, so that the captaincy general of Chile lay within the boundaries assigned to this tribunal.

The study of the documents would throw much light on colonial trade and the inquisitorial proceedings in financial matters which competed with it. They will also be useful for investigating the problem of the immigration of Jews to Latin America, and the persecutions of which their members were the object, especially the Portuguese Jews against whom the inquisitorial investigation and punishment were implacable.

Archives of the Jesuits.—This rich collection belonged to Don Antonio de Paz, an official of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, from whom the government of Chile bought it, through the intermediary of Don Carlos Morla Vicuña, then secretary of the Chilean legation in France. The latter in a report dated Seville, August 24, 1876, wrote as follows:

The manuscript collection in possession of Señor Paz consists for the most part of originals belonging to the Jesuits of Hispano-America from Mexico to Chile. These documents which were transferred to the Peninsula in 1767, immediately after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from that continent, were housed in a department of the Ministry of Grace and Justice, called the Temporalities, which was broken up during the last revolution. The papers were sold by the pound to butcher shops and groceries, and were fast on the way to complete destruction when a gentleman named Don M. Javier Bravo, a Spaniard living in Buenos Aires, who was then by chance in Madrid, heard of their existence and acquired them. Señor Bravo returned part of the collection to the Spanish government and undertook the publication of the rest. As he did not have any preparation by special studies for this kind of work, Señor Bravo was not successful in his undertaking and had to give up the manuscript collection above mentioned for the amount he was owing to his literary collaborators and to the editor of the first two volumes of the publication.

This collection is the one offered for sale to the Supreme Government two years ago through my mediation, and which the Minister of Foreign Relations authorized your Excellency [the Chilean minister in France] to buy if I judged it advisable. As yet no determination has been made relative to this matter, since as I had no opportunity to examine the manuscripts personally, I was ignorant of their value and whether or not they were worth the expense that their acquisition would require.

As I have told your Excellency before, this time I have had the opportunity to examine the above mentioned collection personally. It is kept in ten enormous trunks. It is divided into cardboard sections forming volumes, the distribution following the order of the various regions into which colonial America was divided. This classification would permit of the formation of a complete catalogue, paper by paper, and legajo by legajo, of all the material, without any great difficulty or space of time, and would facilitate the preparation of the collection for the use of the public.

The section corresponding to Chile, although one of the least abundant, is composed of very interesting documents which ought to be acquired for the Biblioteca Nacional of Santiago at any cost. Among them are original letters from Fathers Luis de Valdivia, Gaspar Sobrino, Luis del Castillo, Antonio and Gonzalo de Covarrubias, Diego Rosales, Alonso de Ovalle, etc.—all of them famous in our historical annals, some as missionaries and pacifiers and the rest as Chilean chroniclers. That part of this section which refers to the defensive war, by which at the advice of Father Valdivia the reduction of the Araucanians was undertaken in 1610, is very complete from the point of view of the father missionaries. There are also among their papers many adverse reports and criticisms made against the new plan by the military chiefs who desired to con-

tinue active warfare. In this same section are found all the documents referring to the rural and urban properties owned by the Society of Jesus in Chile, with their deeds and plans annexed, many of which were in colors. The want of these documents has provoked in Chile, as I have noted, more than one lawsuit in regard to the boundaries of estates. If they were in the Biblioteca Nacional, even should they not serve to solve such questions, they would always be very useful in a purely literary and historical sense. The number of letters relative to the colleges, churches, and missions, of which the Jesuits had charge throughout the whole extent of the country is not less considerable.

The sections of the collection corresponding to Peru and to Paraguay, which included the provinces of Tucumán and Río de la Plata, as the provinces were divided by the Jesuits, undoubtedly have very many documents which are of equal interest to Chile and which would be of certain value in the present boundary questions, with the study of which I am charged. The portions corresponding to Brazil, the Viceroyalty of Sante Fé, and Mexico are quite far distant from Chile and do not interest it except for one or more direct incidents, for many of the religious who distinguished themselves in Chile usually went to continue their labors into these regions and vice versa. However, these documents like the others are of intrinsic value for the history of the countries above mentioned, and in the case of Mexico, the richest.

The entire collection is composed of thirteen thousand pieces more or less, understanding by "piece" documents and expedientes, many of which are voluminous.

Señor Morla Vicuña also adds these words in a note:

This collection was acquired by the state and has been sent to Chile. I undertook its organization, document by document, and I even made the detailed catalogue of a considerable part of them; but in this task as well as in that of the study of the boundaries question, I was interrupted by the exigencies of the late war [of the Pacific]. It is advisable, however, that as much of the catalogue as has been completed be printed, and it will be a simple matter to continue the arrangement and classification in Santiago. The collection which had been owned by Señor Paz has been completed with various other items of papers pertaining to the same archives which were found in possession of old book dealers in Madrid. The manuscripts proceeding from the houses owned by the Jesuits in Spain and which do not refer to America, were found some years ago in possession of the erudite Señores Zabalburu. These with our collection and the choice documents presented by Señor Bravo to the Academy of History in Madrid, constitute all that is left of the archives sequestrated from the Society of Jesus when it was suppressed.¹

To the words of Señor Morla Vicuña, it is fitting to add that the greater part of the papers of this collection are posterior to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, and consist of ordinances

¹ C. Morla Vicuña, *Estudio Histórico sobre el Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Patagonia y de la Tierra del Fuego*, pp. 34, 35.

issued in order to obey the order of expulsion, of inventories and auctions, or administration of the sequestrated goods and proofs of the payment of pensions to the expelled religious, some of whom were still living when American emancipation took place. This collection contains, therefore, documentation covering the entire colonial period, and not only of the Hispano-American colonies, but also of the Philippines, Canaries, and even of some houses of Spain itself.

When the archives reached the Biblioteca Nacional, this institution still was without a bindery, so that it was necessary to send the books and manuscripts to private binderies for binding. This caused an almost irreparable loss of some forty volumes which were half destroyed in a fire that broke out in the bindery where this work was being done.

The total number of volumes, including the impaired ones, was 498, but in order to facilitate consultation, two or more account books were bound into a single volume, thus decreasing the total number of volumes by 18, which are distributed as follows:

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Chile | Volumes numbered from 1-136A |
| Spain | 137-150 |
| Spain, Canaries, and Philippines | 151 |
| Italy (relative to pensions) | 152-153 |
| Bolivia | 154-170 and 436-437 |
| Peru | 171-232 |
| Argentine Republic | 233-298 |
| Mexico | 299-380 |
| Paraguay | 381-382 |
| Quito | 383-396 |
| Bogotá | 397-419 |
| Panama | 420 |
| Antilles | 421-425 |
| Philippines | 426-428 |
| Various others | 429-435 |

Half burned in the fire

42 volumes kept in fourteen boxes.

Aside from the anacronic nomenclature, this classification undoubtedly suffers from the commission of a serious error, namely, that of not preserving the old separation of the documents belonging to each viceroyalty and the captaincies general dependent on them, so that the investigator must keep in mind the geographical division of America in order not to lay himself open to some possible downfall such as would happen without doubt to the person who limited himself to examining volumes 381 and 382 to find information about Paraguay

and should pass by the sixty-five volumes referring to the Argentine Republic.

The archives of the Jesuits have been utilized by various republics in the defense of their rights in the lawsuits concerning boundary questions sustained with neighboring countries.

They are also called upon to serve as a useful source of information for American ethnography, both for the fixing of the regions where each people lived, and also because of the abundance of native geographical or personal names which are conserved in those papers.

The inventories of the libraries, of the tools and animals of the estates, the number of the slaves and of the household goods in general, all offer a vast field for historical investigation which will permit not only of a better knowledge of the so greatly discussed activities of the Society of Jesus, but also the degree of development of colonial society.

Archives of the Notaries.—These begin with a fragment of the register of the notary Pedro de Salcedo in the year 1559. This is followed by a volume of Juan de la Peña, 1564–1566; other fragments of the registries of Alonso del Castillo, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1593, and 1594, and from 1585 to 1800 follow the registers without any attempt at continuity even when one or the other of the registries of any of the notaries who discharged their duties at the same time are missing.

Aside from the registries of Santiago, there is a volume containing fragments of registers of various notaries of Concepción who held office between the years 1769 and 1843.

The total number of instruments is perhaps in excess of 200,000 and their contents furnish the most vivid and faithful picture of Chile and our ancestors in past centuries. The change in customs especially can be shown easily and its evolution even followed by examining those documents.

Wills were more common than they are today, and in them no one neglected to commend his soul to God and to the saints, or to make his confession of faith. Some added minute data relative to their life or to their progeny and many highly interesting statements. The most extensive will is that of the *maestre de Campo* General Jerónimo de Quiroga, which was signed in 1716 and consists of 141 pages.

Dotal letters or the evidence of the money which the parents or relatives of the bride usually gave to the husband at the time of the celebration of marriage are also very numerous and recall a custom which has now fallen into complete disuse.

Among the interesting instruments it is of interest to note the promises not to gamble, not to make loans, and other similar promises, in which the signer imposed on himself not only a fine for the benefit of the denouncer, of the royal treasury, or of some religious institution, but also condemned himself to go to jail for a certain time; instruments of pardon for some crime usually extended after a money settlement between the interested parties; testimonies of happenings accounted miraculous; "exclamations", or instruments in which those signing them declared that they had signed other instruments against their will, and to which consequently they denied all value or effect; the "agreements" or contracts for domestic services, and documents relative to a variety of other matters.

In the Archives of the Notaries, one may observe the development of society, the evolution of customs, the progress of industry and commerce, and in general of the colony itself.

Archives of the Royal Audiencia.—This tribunal was established in Concepción first in 1568, suppressed in 1575, and reestablished in Santiago in 1609 where it functioned until 1817 except for a short period of the Old Country, 1811–1814.

However, old expedientes dating from 1552 are conserved in these archives, as well as various others initiated in the sixteenth century, documents,—copies dating from 1544 and originals dating from 1550. But the great majority are posterior to the creation of the Audiencia of Santiago.

Inasmuch as the sphere of action of the Royal Audiencia was much greater than that of present-day tribunals of justice, and it exercised in addition functions of criminal jurisdiction over the other authorities of the country, these archives contain many expedientes relative to competency of jurisdiction. The application of laws or regulations, questions of etiquette, appeals to force, etc. But among them all, those of greatest historical interest are the residencia sentences, which as one knows were drawn up against the presidents and captains general, the corregidores, and other subordinate authorities upon leaving office, and in which after the charges made against the departing official by aggrieved parties and the rebuttal made by the departing official had been heard the latter was condemned or absolved in accordance with the merits shown by the records.

The matter of processes and sentences between parties does not differ, as one may easily imagine, from those nowadays. There are, however, many expedientes of cases between slaves or Indians and their

masters or encomenderos because of bad treatment and other injuries which were inflicted on them which are useful for ascertaining the relations of the various classes among themselves and the laws protecting inferiors from abuses by the peninsular.

The approximate number of pieces contained in these archives is 14,000, classified as follows:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Ordinary civil suits | 10,200 |
| Expedientes of historical value | 2,200 |
| Expedientes relative to encomiendas of Indians, slaves, etc. | 700 |
| Expedientes of criminal matter | 600 |
| Expedientes relative to mines | 300 |

These archives are completed by a collection of royal provisions, sentences of examination or review expedited by the royal audiencia during the entire time that it functioned. This series of papers which so far forms more than 60 volumes, although many others are still to be formed, is particularly interesting because there are found here notices of many expedientes that have been lost and sometimes the complete synthesis of them with the main documents inserted in the sentences pronounced by the tribunal.

Archives of Vicuña Mackenna.—As happens frequently in private collections the make up of these archives is heterogeneous, and it is composed principally of notes and original drafts of Señor Vicuña Mackenna, his archives and private correspondence, a series of copies made in the Archivo de Indias; documents and letters relative to the chief political events of Chile and of the persons concerned therein; a multitude of newspaper or magazine clippings; colonial expedientes, etc.

The archives that belonged to the Fathers of the Country, Generals Don Bernardo O'Higgins and Don José Miguel Carrera and the original manuscript of the *Historia de Chile* by Father Diego Rosales are the most valuable of all.

Archives of Morla Vicuña.—These consist principally of two large groups of papers, namely: the autographic drafts of Don Claudio Gay, the original documents and copies of other documents collected by the aforesaid for the writing of his *Historia de Chile*; and the copies made in Spain by Don Carlos Morla Vicuña for his *Estudio Histórico sobre el Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Patagonia y de la Tierra del Fuego*, and especially, for the defense of the rights of Chile in the boundaries question with the Argentine Republic.

The archives are distributed in the following manner:

| | | |
|---|-------|--------|
| Manuscript of the <i>Historia de Chile</i> , by Gay | Vols. | 1- 7 |
| Old original manuscripts | " | 8-40 |
| Old manuscripts and notes made by Gay | " | 41-42 |
| Copies of documents collected by Gay | " | 43-53 |
| Copy of the <i>Relación Geográfica e Hidrográfica del Reino de Chile</i> , sent to the king by the president Don Manuel de Amat in 1761 | " | 54 |
| Geographical documents relative to Chile | " | 55 |
| Copies and extracts of old papers relative to Chile | " | 56 |
| Copies of old chroniclers and historians of Chile, namely, Pineda Bascuñan, Córdoba y Figueroa, Olivares, Pérez García, Martínez, etc. | " | 57-65 |
| Copies of Logs | | 66 |
| Copy of the <i>Historia del Reino de Chile</i> by Fray Antonio Lora, 1780 | " | 67 |
| Copy of the <i>Diario Político</i> by Don José Miguel Carrera | " | 68 |
| Copy of the <i>Historia de la Revolución de Chile</i> , by Fray Melchor Martínez | " | 69 |
| Original papers relative to the government of the island of Juan Fernández, 1832-1834 | " | 71 |
| Copies of documents from the Archivo de Indias | " | 72-123 |
| Original relation relative to the navigation of the Rio Bermejo, 1790 | " | 124 |
| Memoirs of the viceroy of Buenos Aires, Marqués de Loreto, 1790 | " | 125 |

Archives of the War of the Pacific.—These consist almost entirely of documents from the general staff of the Peruvian army, which fell into the hands of the Chileans at the end of 1879. It complements the Chilean documentation and is of considerable use for passing a more accurate and impartial judgment on the first part of the international conflict. They are distributed as follows:

| | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| Official notes, April to November, 1879 | Vols. | 1-7 |
| Confidential matters | " | 8 |
| General orders to the reserves | " | 9 |
| State diaries of the forces, returns, casualties, etc. | " | 10-13 |
| Accounts relative to provisions, expenses of military hospitals, etc | " | 14-17 |
| Copybook of instructions, decrees, and passports | " | 18 |
| General in chief and commandants general of division. | " | 19 |
| Communications with various authorities | " | 20 |
| General correspondence | " | 21-22 |
| Table of persons (alphabetical index of individuals of the army and of information pertaining to them). | " | 23 |

| | | |
|---|-------|----|
| Copies of telegraphic communications | Vols. | 24 |
| General munition depot and its delegation | " | 25 |
| General supply depot and its dependencies | " | 26 |
| Commissariat general and its delegation | " | 27 |
| Correspondence of the general naval commander | " | 28 |
| Active and casualties lists of armament | " | 29 |
| Log of Bitácora of the monitor Huascar, from April, 1879 until its capture at the battle of Angamos, October 8 of the same year | " | 30 |
| Log of the campaign which started on May 16, 1879 against Chile, aboard the monitor Huascar, written by Second Lieutenant Don Jorge F. Velarde. This seaman died at the battle of Iquique (May 21, 1879), and the log was continued by the second lieutenant by brevet, Don Pedro Gárezon until the 29th of the same month | " | 31 |
| Log of the frigate captain of the Chilean navy, Don Manuel Thompson, from March to June, 1879 | " | 32 |
| Log of the volunteer Don Ernesto Riquelme, aboard the <i>Esmeralda</i> and the <i>Covadonga</i> , 1874-1875. Riquelme was one of the heroes of the epic of Iquique and the <i>Esmeralda</i> and the <i>Covadonga</i> were the Chilean vessels which took part in it | " | 33 |

Judicial Archives of Concepción.—These are composed of criminal and civil sentences, and contain some processes because of subversive conspiracies that may have an interest for political history. They begin in 1810 and end about 1854.

Archives of the Intendencias of Concepción and Biobío.—The first corresponds to the years 1819-1840 and the second to those of 1829-1875, and both are purely administrative. However, in that of Concepción are found a few documents relative to the campaign of Chiloé which put an end to the Spanish domination there in 1826.

Copies from the Hydrographic Office.—These are copies of documents relative to nautical history. They were printed in great part in the *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile*.

Archives of the Government of Angol.—These are also modern archives of an administrative character. They may be useful for the study of questions having to do with the Indians and their definitive pacification.

Archives of the Cabildo de la Serena.—These commence in the year 1680 and end in 1818, but they contain also a few documents anterior and posterior to the years indicated. The classification of the matters treated in the papers is as follows:

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----------|
| Volumes 1- 3 | Acts of the cabildo | 1778-1800 |
| " 4- 9 | Cedulas, edicts, etc | 1698-1823 |
| " 10-11 | Royal provisions | 1680-1813 |
| " 12-13 | Visitas of the Indians | 1692-1792 |
| " 14-16 | Civil causes | 1682-1818 |
| " 17 | Criminal causes | 1720-1813 |
| " 18-21 | Expedientes relative to mines | 1714-1812 |
| " 22-25 | Dispatches and various communications | 1780-1814 |
| " 26 | Hospital | 1740-1816 |
| " 27 | Relative to militia | 1775-1814 |
| " 28 | Matters relative to the Indians | 1690-1811 |
| " 29-31 | Matters of government | 1600-1808 |
| " 32 | Revenues of balance and estates | 1810-1817 |
| " 33 | Revenues from the monopoly | 1755-1813 |
| " 34 | Expedientes relative to lands | 1790-1817 |
| " 35 | Copies of various legal writs | 1716-1829 |
| " 36 | Book of receipts of San Agustin | |

Beyond doubt these archives contain some papers that will prove useful for completing the history of various incidents of the war of independence. The most important, however, are those referring to the indigenes, and these have a bearing on Chilean ethnology which has been very little studied, and which is clothed with greater interest in Coquimbo whose inhabitants have been submitted to the influences of several American cultures from the north and east, and probably as well from the south.

Miscellaneous manuscripts.—Among these documents are worthy of mention a map or sketch of Chile designed in Spain in 1768 by Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, later president of Chile and viceroy of Peru, for the purpose of conveying an idea of the number and location of the properties of the expelled Jesuits; an "Old Testament" to which Don J. Sylvester, professor of languages and of Hebrew in the rabbinical college of Varsovia, ascribed an age of a thousand years, basing his opinion on the change of color in the parchment, the wear of the catgut with which it was sewed, and the very imperfect characters of the writing, according to his statement in a report of August 30, 1875; and two plans executed in 1760 by order of the viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, which contain a project for the irrigation of the valleys of Arica and Tarapacá.

The last might perhaps serve as a base for a study relative to a possible modification in the meteorological and climatic condition of those provinces, for they contain marked regions "which were cultivated formerly when it rained" and others which were still cultivated

in 1760, but which are nevertheless sterile at the present time. The data noted on those plans accord with those existing in the parish of Iquique in expedientes drawn up for the purpose of checking the disorders, or immoralities of which those regions were the scene during the time of the harvests. There are also other indications and even foundations for believing that the inhospitable conditions of the deserts of northern Chile have grown worse during the last four centuries, but that matter can not be elucidated on in this article.

Among the other manuscripts may be mentioned "El Vasauro", an unpublished poem by Licentiate Pedro de Oña, the oldest of Chilean poets, who was born in Angol in 1570, and the "Historia de la Provincia de Chiloé bajo la Dominación Española", written in four volumes, and left unfinished by Don Abraham de Silva, who died prematurely in December, 1908.

III. REGULATIONS, FACILITIES, AND CATALOGUES FOR CONSULTING THE SECTION

Título VIII. of the Regulations of the Biblioteca Nacional, enacted June 12, 1890, refers to the Manuscript Section and contains the following rules relative to the consultation of documents:

Art 17. The duties of the Chief of this Section are as follows:

1. To furnish to readers the manuscripts for which they ask after having received a signed receipt on which are noted the date of the petition, the number of the volume, the archives to which it belongs, and the residence of the petitioner.

2. To see that the persons who make copies or notes do not damage or spoil the manuscripts by writing on them or by making any kind of mark.

Art. 18. Manuscripts especially reserved can not be examined without permission from the director.

Art. 19. The series of reserved manuscripts shall consist of an index made by the Director and approved by the Minister of Public Instruction.

Art. 20. Persons below the age of 20 years can not be admitted to this section as readers.

Within these rules it is aimed to give the public all the facilities by which they can work to the greatest advantage and comfort.

The cataloguing of the manuscripts is still deficient, but the subdivision of the archives and the chronological arrangement of some of them simplifies and usually accelerates investigation.

The best of the existing catalogues and the one which will be used as a model for future catalogues is that of the Archives of the Royal

Audiencia. It suffers, perhaps, from the defect of being too voluminous, because of the very large type used in printing it, but on the other hand it is easy to manage. It consists of three volumes, which comprehend 6,210 pieces contained in the volumes numbered from 1-2100 inclusive.

Inasmuch as most of the pieces are judgments between parties, the descriptions of these pieces have been set down according to the alphabetical order of the surnames of the complainants, or of the person, functionary, or corporation of whom the catalogued piece especially treats or refers. In addition are added the citations or summonses, with the names of the defendants and notes under the main description in which are mentioned the principal documents, royal cédulas, grants and plans of surveys of lands, total letters, wills or powers for bequeathing; and in general of those of historical value and which without that method it would be difficult to find. Of all these citations are made in alphabetical order as above said. The following transcription will give a better understanding of the procedure followed:

ALHUÉ (Tierras de).—See *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

GUZMÁN (Beatriz de).—See *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

1000 MERCED (Convento de la).—Judgment followed with Guzmán (Beatriz de), relative to a better right to the lands of the valley of *Alhué*. 1634-1643.

Vol. 310. Pp. 309.—The first part of this judgment is found in the second piece of volume 599.

It contains the will of Don Rodrigo de Quiroga (February 24, 1580); and the copy of a concession granted by Don Pedro de Valdivia in favor of Doña Inés Suárez of the lands of the valley of *Alhué* (July 11, 1546).

QUIROGA (Rodrigo de).—See *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

SUÁREZ (Inés).—See *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

VALDIVIA (Pedro de).—See *Merced* (Convento de la), No. 1000.

As above seen, this piece has five cross references, so that the person looking for information relative to the above mentioned persons or of the lands in litigation, or in general of the history of that epoch has within reach the data necessary for the locating of the material.

The catalogue of the Archives of the Jesuits relating to Chile is made up in like manner, but contains a double reference to the pages of the volume and the sheets contained in the piece, but this generally makes it confusing to one not accustomed to consult that index. References are written in the following form: 1797; Vol. 86, p. 10, page 263, sheets 19; or Year 1797; volume 86, piece 10th, page 263 of the volume in which the piece commences; the manuscript is made up of 19 sheets.

The catalogue of the Capitanía General is rather an inventory, and incomplete, of the pieces contained in each volume. Nevertheless, although it is much slower and less accurate to consult than the catalogues of the Royal Audiencia and of the Jesuits, investigation is considerably facilitated by examining it. Moreover, the minute cataloguing of these archives has been begun with excellent results, for the first seventy volumes have yielded more than 2,000 pieces or 40 per cent more than the 1,245 that appear in the present index, not counting cross references which must exceed 3,000. This so striking difference is due to the fact that the first work had to be done in a space of time, so that it was impossible to catalogue a multitude of petitions and small expedientes one, two, or three sheets long, yet each of which required as long a time as a voluminous legajo. For this reason such papers were massed together under the symbol of first, second, or third series of miscellaneous papers.

The catalogue of the Archives Vicuña Mackenna also consists of a mere inventory, with a few commentaries as to the value of certain documents. It consists of 229 pages in double column quarto and can be examined rapidly, inasmuch as it is subdivided into series of papers of very diverse character which no one need examine at the same time, as can be proved by comparing some of the chief ones which are indicated below.

Vols. 33-35.—The Revolution of April 20, 1851.

“ 42-44.—War to the death, 1819-1820.

“ 47-50.—The revolution of 1859.

“ 85-112.—Archives of General O'Higgins.

“ 113-122.—Archives of General Carrera.

“ 195-221.—Campaign against Peru and Bolivia, 1837-1839.

“ 222-255.—Campaign against Peru and Bolivia, 1879-1883; and other events relative to that period.

“ 265-304.—Copies of documents from the Archivo de Indias from Simancas, 1532-1700.

In order to facilitate the consultation of the Archives of the Notaries, a *Guía* has been printed, in which are enumerated the wills and powers for making wills, dotal letters, and some other documents of special interest. The part already published takes up to volume 591, but the printing of the balance is being continued. In addition, many of the volumes are provided with an index of the documents contained therein, so that the examination or search for documents entails no great difficulty.

Manuscript inventories only are found for the other archives, and are even lacking to some of them, as it is impossible to make them without first arranging their papers which came into the Section in complete disorder.

Soon to be transferred provisionally to the new edifice of the Biblioteca Nacional, while the extensive and commodious building which is being constructed west of the above mentioned palace of the library, the Manuscripts Section will be definitively organized within a short time under conditions which will permit the elimination of the defects from which it is suffering at present and to experience without obstruction the extension of its services in consequence of its violent development because of the new archives which it will then receive and which will convert it into one of the richest, if not one of the most valuable of the historical archives of Hispanic America.

TOMÁS THAYER OJEDA

Chief of the Manuscripts Section
of the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago,
Chile.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE HISTORY SECTION, FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS, UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

Because of the augmenting importance of the volumes of documents which the National University of Buenos Aires is publishing through the History Section of its Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, it is desired, in this article, to give an idea of their value, and of the scope of the vast and admirable undertaking of which each of these volumes is a carefully prepared, harmonious part. As source material for history, the documents presented in the series under consideration usually relate solely to the territory now constituting the Argentine Republic, although occasionally, with respect to matters which cannot be so definitely segregated, there is furnished the whole related process of laws and procedure, which, in affecting the Spanish colonies of America, concerned Argentina among the rest. The value of the volumes which the University of Buenos Aires is issuing, is, however, more than solely the historical value of the documents they so accurately present. As models and encouragement they are invested with

another, and possibly as great an interest, for all students of history, especially those most appreciative of undiluted, unadulterated, limpid sources.

Editorially these books meet the requirements of the most exacting criticism. From a good beginning the series has improved in each successive volume, as the work done in various archives has trained those in charge of investigations to recognize and master difficulties, and their experience has taught the editors how more nearly to achieve their own advancing ideal with respect to presentation. The latest volume is close indeed upon the history student's conception of perfection in this particular field of work.

It was Sr. D. José Nicolás Matienzo who, when dean of the University of Buenos Aires, conceived the plan of publishing in serial groups, documents covering determined epochs in Argentine history. Under his auspices appeared volumes entitled *Documentos para la historia del Virreinato del Rio de la Plata*, *Documentos relativos a los antecedentes de la Independencia de la República Argentina*, and *Documentos relativos a la Organización Constitucional de la República Argentina*, to which must be added *Gobierno del Perú* (sixteenth century) by Licentiate Juan de Matienzo. These form ten volumes of selected documents.

Under Sr. D. Norberto Piñero, dean, certain editorial reforms were effected, and there emerged the University's Section of History, placed under the special direction of Sr. D. Luis M. Torres, with Sr. D. Emilio Ravignani in charge of investigations.¹ They were assisted by Drs. Romulo D. Carbia, Diego Luis Molinari and Carlos Correa Luna, all specialists in these matters, with reputations established among Argentine students of history. Then began the new series of publications, which still continues, under the general title of *Documents for Argentine History*.

Under succeeding deans (Sr. D. Rodolfo Rivarola, and the present incumbent, Sr. D. Alejandro Korn) the volumes of this series have steadily improved, each upon the preceding, until, as has been said, the latest, Volume IX., *Administración Edilicia de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*, is a model of its kind. It is the flower of a well surveyed, well cultivated field.

Sr. Torres classifies the requirements which must be met in prepara-

¹ Since this article was written Sr. Torres has resigned the direction of the History Section, to become director of the Museo de la Plata, but he will continue to collaborate in its work, which is now in the hands of the former chief of investigations, Sr. Ravignani.

tion of each volume of the series, under four different heads, which he considers fundamental:²

1. Investigation and determination of sources. *I.e.*, Exploration of public and private archives, both national and foreign, and provincial and municipal. Preparation of catalogues and special bibliographies.

2. Extrinsic criticism of sources. *I.e.*, Determination of origin (date, place, person) and certification of authenticity.

3. Classification: General character—Classification of materials a) Antecedents; b) Form; c) Function. Chronological and geographical order—The concordant indices (by subject, person, place, date).

4. Publication: General Series; Partial Series; Preliminary interpretation of the value of the documents; Bibliography by subjects; Partial indices (authors, patronymics, topics); Concordant indices of each partial series.

The History Section has carried forward its investigations in the principal archives of Argentina, and in certain archives of Europe, among them the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. In each instance a thorough survey has been made of the archives in general, of its content relative to Argentina in particular, with careful preparation of notes sufficiently detailed to enable the History Section to identify, compare, and select intelligently from the wealth of material so made available.

The general plan for publications, which Sr. Torres presents in a recent volume of the series, classifies the volumes yet to appear into large serial groups which cover only the epoch embraced between the erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata and the year 1810, when Argentina became independent. In view of the excellence of the work which the History Section is doing, students will certainly desire that its labors shall extend to preceding periods of Argentine history, including as far as possible matters of general interest to all Hispanic America, as was done, for instance, in *Antecedentes legales del comercio libre de Indias*.

The plan according to which the History Section is working is the following:

Territory and Population:

Geographical explorations and cartography of the viceroyalty

Extent and population of the city and vicinity of Buenos Aires (1726-1809)

Extent and population of the cities, towns, military districts, and *corregimientos* (civil and religious census reports and similar rosters)

² "La Sección de Historia de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en el Congreso Americano de Ciencias Sociales reunido en Tucumán, el 5 de Julio de 1916," in *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas*, Buenos Aires, 1916, Year VI., Vol. XII., No. 70.

Native and black elements of population in the cities, towns, and country
estates of the viceroyalty; life and customs

Boundaries.

Trade and Commerce in America:

Legal antecedents (1713-1778)

Free trade (1778-1791)

Commercial organizations (*consulado*), slave and foreign trade (1791-1809)

Commercial memorials and representations (1771-1810)

Customs administration (1778-1810)

Administration of commercial organizations (*consulado*) (1785-1810)

Economics and Royal Treasury:

Industries and technology

Exploitation of mines

Currency and credit

Guilds

Property

Imposts

Ways and means of communication.

Political:

Foreign—

Differences with Portugal

Differences with England

Differences with France

Domestic—

Tupac-Amaru uprising

Precursory subversive movements

The revolutions of 1809 and 1810.

Administration:

Viceroyalty—

Antecedents of its erection (1771-1776)

Establishment (1776-1778)

Duration (1778-1805)

Audiencia

Royal Treasury

Intendencias

Councils

Municipal administration

Organization of military institutions

Government of indigenous peoples

Consequences of the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Culture:

Public instruction

Literature and bibliography

Habits and customs

Artistic manifestations

Folklore

Iconography

Biography.

Church:

Diocesan organization

Parishes

Ecclesiastical justice

Tithes*.

Further, the History Section purposes to translate into Spanish the accounts written by certain English travelers and chroniclers of the 18th and early 19th centuries, who visited or described the Plate countries, and recorded their experiences and opinions in curious books, full of singular and astute observations. These will be published in critical editions, supplemented by extensive studies by specialists.

Those persons who interest themselves in matters of this sort will recognize the immensity of the task which the History Section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires is undertaking; but an inspection of the later volumes which have been issued furnishes full assurance that the work is in preeminently competent hands. In the volumes already issued appear names of illustrious Argentine historians who have furnished prologues to certain of the selections presented. Omitting the names of members of the Section itself, who have already been cited, there may be mentioned Juan Agustín García, Ricardo Levene, and Enrique del Valle Iberlucea.

Parallel with this work, there is being published a collection of monographs, intended to throw light upon, or to revise, certain historical questions still of true interest, which, thanks to documents heretofore unknown, now being discovered in the rich archives which the History Section is exploring, can today be treated with greater certainty and wider knowledge. Collaborators in this new collection, up to the present, are Luis M. Torres, Emilio Ravignani, Juan Álvarez, Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche, and Rómulo D. Carbia.

It is not too much to say that among the current publications which deal with American history, none are issued on so carefully premeditated a plan as this one, so especially correlated to deal with all the factors in the life of the past centuries of Hispanic American colonization and development, nor do any so satisfactorily fulfil the highest modern concept of what critical presentation of sources should be. The History Section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires honors Argentina, in honoring itself with these excellent publications, which are a magnificent exponent of the

* Plan for Historical Investigation and Publication of the History Section, foreword to Volume V., *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1915.

degree of perfection in research which is being attained in Argentina, the nicety of historical discipline there maintained, to the end of dissipating legends and setting forth the far more valuable truths of American history—so long unknown, distorted or ignored.

Furthermore, to students whose interests lie outside Argentina, this series is of vital interest, for it rises like a goal ahead which can, and will, certainly be attained by analogous institutions of other countries, when intermittent and desultory investigations shall have been consolidated and correlated on some such plan as the one here described. Only such forethought, determination, persistence, and exacting care as the University of Buenos Aires is now exercising through its History Section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters can accomplish permanent and creditable work in this field of endeavour.⁴

I. A. WRIGHT.

Seville, Spain, May, 1920.

NOTES

ITEMS IN COMMERCE REPORTS FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1920

Additional steamship service for Mexico. No. 287, December 7.

American commercial aeroplanes in Mexico. No. 273, November 19.

American paper and office supplies in Mazatlan, Mexico, No. 269, November 15.

American tractors and agricultural machinery in southern Brazil. No. 288, December 8.

American trolley cars in Buenos Aires. No. 282, December 1.

Anomalies of exchange in Trinidad. No. 237, October 8.

Argentina's exports for first nine months of 1920. No. 271, November 17.

Argentine export duties for December. No. 285, December 4.

The Argentine market for calcium carbide, glycerine, and other chemical products. No. 279, November 27.

Argentine market for drugs and veterinary remedies. No. 283, December 2.

⁴ The only North American university which has undertaken any serious, continuous work in Hispanic American research, is the University of California, which, while proceeding upon quite another course, is, nevertheless, accomplishing much, thanks to possession of a central plan.

- Argentine sugar prospects. No. 238, October 9.
Argentine state railways show improvement. No. 274, November 20.
Argentine trade notes. No. 275, November 22.
Argentine-United States exchange. No. 273, November 19.
The Artificial flower industry in Argentina. No. 274, November 20.
Automobile show to be held in Mexico in March. No. 304, December 28.
Bahia port improvements. No. 249, October 22.
Bandages, gauze and absorbent cotton manufactured in Argentina.
No. 263, November 8.
Banking situation in Colombia. No. 289, December 9.
Beet-sugar industry in Uruguay. No. 259, November 3.
Bids desired for port works at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. No. 281,
November 30.
Bids for electrification of Chilean railway. No. 241, October 13.
Bolivia repeals law relative to selling foreign drafts. No. 260, November 4.
Brazilian imports of textiles show increase in 1918. No. 257, November 1.
Brazilian market for portable houses. No. 288, December 8.
Brazilian sugar crop for 1920. No. 304, December 28.
Brazilian supreme court decision affecting registration of trademarks.
No. 267, November 12.
Brazil's crude rubber exports in October. No. 289, December 9.
Cacao growers form syndicate in Bahia, Brazil. No. 294, December 15.
Cancellation for orders of merchandise by Mexican importers. No.
271, November 17.
Changes in the Bureau's offices in Latin America. No. 232, October 2.
Chihuahua city streets to be repaved. No. 294, December 15.
Chilean budget for 1921. No. 251, October 25.
Chilean customhouse receipts in July. No. 238, October 9.
Chilean import trade. No. 262, November 6.
Chilean products available for export. No. 280, November 29.
Coal strike developments in Mexico. No. 278, November 26.
Cocoa dryers for Trinidad. No. 240, October 12.
Coffee shipments from Maracaibo, Venezuela, during October. No.
304, December 28. *Id.* during November, No. 307, December 31.
The coffee situation in Venezuela. No. 252, October 26.
Commercial and financial readjustment in Chile. No. 263, November 8.
Commercial and private failures in Argentina. No. 280, November 29.
The Commercial district of Bogotá, Colombia. No. 253, October 27.

- Conditions in Habana harbor. Nos. 282, 284, and 304, December 1, 3, and 28.
- Condition of cotton crop in Lower California. No. 246, October 19.
- Construction work in the city of Buenos Aires. No. 276, November 23.
- Continued business depression in Chile. No. 285, December 4.
- Continued improvement in congested conditions in Habana. No. 242, October 14.
- Copper deposits in Chile. No. 241, October 13.
- Cotton cultivation in Tucumán, Argentina. No. 251, October 25.
- Cotton textile industry of Mexico. No. 255, October 29.
- Crude rubber exports from Brazil in November. No. 306, December 30.
- Cuban purchasers of railroad rolling stock. No. 281, November 30.
- Cuban regulations governing shipments during moratorium. No. 265, November 10.
- The Cuban situation. No. 246, October 19.
- Cuban terminal port closed to entry. No. 306, December 30.
- Declared exports during August from Panama. No. 282, December 1.
- Demonstration of American agricultural machinery in Salvador. No. 267, November 12.
- Development of sugar industry in Nicaragua. No. 306, December 30.
- Development of trade with Mexico. No. 305, December 29.
- Dispatch of merchandise continues in Habana. No. 251, October 25.
- Dominican rules governing sales of patent and proprietary medicines. No. 287, December 7.
- Economic conditions in Brazil. No. 288, December 8.
- Economic conditions in Entre Rios, Argentina. No. 250, October 23.
- Economic conditions in Mexico. No. 233, October 4.
- Economic notes from Uruguay. *Id.*
- Establishment of American consulate at Arica, Chile. No. 306, December 30.
- Establishment of free ports in Mexico. No. 246, October 19.
- Establishment of publicity bureau in Guatemala. No. 251, October 25.
- Establishment of school aviation in Ecuador. No. 305, December 29.
- Exports for September quarter from Isle of Pines to United States. No. 260, November 4.
- Exports for the third quarter of 1920 from Santa Marta. *Id.*
- Exports to the United States from Paraguay. No. 281, November 30.
- Extension of Cuban prohibition on import of rice. No. 277, November 24.

- Extension of moratorium in Cuba. No. 285, December 4.
Final figures for 1919-1920 Cuban sugar crop. No. 256, October 30.
Financial conditions in Para, Brazil. No. 269, November 15.
Financial situation in Salvador. No. 263, November 8.
Financial situation in Nicaragua. No. 276, November 23.
Fluctuation of Peruvian exchange. No. 263, November 8.
Foreign tariffs. Nos. 233, 242, and 248, October 4, 14, and 21; 260, November 4; and 284, December 3.
Formation of syndicate of banana growers in Tabasco, Mexico. No. 305, December 29.
Government irrigation project in Sonora. No. 257, November 1.
Guatemala paper currency. No. 258, November 2.
Gum arabic available from Argentina. No. 246, October 19.
High prices demanded by grain haulers in Argentina. No. 294, December 15.
Higher prices for livestock in Honduras. No. 307, December 31.
How exchange affects business in Chile. No. 243, October 15.
Ice factory for Matamoros. No. 276, November 23.
Import prohibitions in Salvador. No. 282, December 1.
Importation of leather and shoes into Cuba. No. 294, December 15.
Importers of rubber goods and clothing in Canada, Europe, and Latin America. No. 250, October 23.
Improvement in congested conditions in Habana. No. 237, October 8.
Inauguration of direct cable from Cartagena to Colon. No. 286, December 6.
Inauguration of through Pullman service from San Antonio to Mexico City. No. 244, October 16.
Incorporation and corporation taxes in Latin America. No. 286, December 6.
Increased activity in Argentine butter market. No. 269, November 15.
Increased duties in Guatemala. No. 286, December 6.
Increased interest in Argentine cotton cultivation. No. 301, December 23.
Indications of oil in Uruguay. No. 305, December 29.
Interest charges under Cuban moratorium. No. 263, November 8.
Integral loan issued by Argentine Republic. No. 244, October 16.
Investments in agricultural and mining properties in Mexico. No. 248, October 21.
Laws regulating exploitation of petroleum mines in Salvador. No. 264, November 9.

- Limited shipments of hides from Chihuahua, Mexico. No. 251, October 25.
- Lists of importers in Bolivia. *Id.*
- Lists of tile manufacturers in Argentina. No. 261, November 5.
- Manufacture of acids in Argentina. No. 272, November 18.
- The Manufacture of brooms and brushes in Argentina. *Id.*
- Manufacture of flax straw waste in Argentina. No. 258, November 2.
- Manufacture of floor tiles in Argentina. No. 259, November 3.
- Manufacture of straw hats in Argentina. No. 271, November 17.
- Market conditions in Venezuela. No. 234, October 5.
- Market for American agricultural machinery in southern Brazil. No. 268, November 13.
- Market for building materials in Lima, Peru. No. 276, November 23.
- Market for fruit preserves in Argentina and Uruguay. No. 257, November 1.
- Market for industrial drums and chemicals in Argentina. No. 263, November 8.
- Market for jute bags at Mazatlan, Mexico. No. 252, October 26.
- Market for mining supplies in Mexico. No. 281, November 30.
- The Market for oils in Argentina. No. 286, December 6.
- The Market for paraffin wax, stearic acid, and rosin in Argentina. No. 280, November 29.
- The Market for sodium and potassium in Argentina. No. 270, November 16.
- Mining and petroleum laws of Venezuela available. No. 263, November 8.
- Moratorium diminishing discharge in Habana. No. 257, November 1.
- Moratorium established in Paraguay. No. 270, November 16.
- Moratorium interfering with discharge of merchandise in Habana. No. 262, November 6.
- National wool-scouring plant at Montevideo. No. 260, November 4.
- New bibliography in lumber trade in Latin America. No. 286, December 6.
- New branch of the Banco Frances de Mexico opened. No. 262, November 6.
- New Chilean magazine devoted to American interests. No. 257, November 1.
- New consular fees in Chile. No. 264, November 9.
- New import duties in Peru. No. 280, November 29.
- New insurance company in Paraguay. No. 262, November 6.

- New line of steamers between the United States and Brazil. No. 261, November 5.
- New paper pulp industry in Argentina. No. 273, November 19.
- New Peruvian customs tariff. No. 265, November 10.
- New Portuguese steamship line to Brazil. No. 283, December 2.
- New road projected in Ecuador. No. 303, December 27.
- New service to Brazil and River Plate. No. 268, November 13.
- New steamship line to Brazil. No. 293, December 14.
- New steamship line to Mexico. No. 288, December 8.
- New steamship lines from Colon-Cristobal. No. 275, November 22.
- New sulphuric acid laboratory for Montevideo. No. 234, October 5.
- New theater for Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe. No. 243, October 15.
- No moratoriums in Colombia. No. 259, November 3.
- October exports from Nogales to United States. No. 288, December 8.
- Official study of Argentine coal fields. No. 261, November 5.
- Opportunity for sale in Paraguay of cotton piece goods. No. 287, December 7.
- Organization formed in Argentina to protect trade in grain bags. No. 250, October 23.
- Output of the government oil reserves at Comodoro Rivadavia, Argentina. No. 277, November 24.
- Panama canal traffic for August, No. 244, October 16. *Id.*, for September. No. 269, November 15.
- Panama's trade for October. No. 306, December 30.
- Paraguay government to issue currency in aid of banks. No. 257, November 1.
- Parcel post to Venezuela. No. 292, December 13.
- Peruvian centennial to be held in 1921. No. 249, October 22.
- Peruvian statistics for 1919. No. 259, November 3.
- The Petroleum industry and laws of Colombia. No. 243, October 15.
- Petroleum production by American companies in Trinidad. No. 274, November 20.
- Plan for increased railway communications in Colombia. No. 279, November 27.
- Present conditions in Habana harbor. No. 274, November 20.
- Production and exportation of Chilean nitrate of soda during August. 1920. No. 243, October 15.
- Production of Cacao in Tabasco. No. 289, December 9.
- Production of minerals in Mexico. No. 234, October 5.
- Prohibition on import of rice into the Dominican Republic. No. 231, October 1.

- Projected development of the merchant marine of Mexico. No. 259, November 3.
- Projected port improvements at Manzanillo, Mexico. No. 267, November 12.
- Proposed bill for an association of nitrate products of Chile. No. 268, November 13.
- Proposed fuel-oil station at Cuba. No. 273, November 19.
- Proposed petroleum law in Peru. No. 274, November 20.
- Proposed sanitation of Salvador. No. 307, December 31.
- Proposition for establishment of beet-sugar industry in Argentina. No. 250, October 23.
- Prospects of wood-pulp production in Chile. No. 249, October 22.
- Publication of Venezuelan railroads available for reference. No. 258, November 2.
- Purchase of aviation materials by Brazil. No. 288, December 8.
- Railways acquire Argentine oil fields. No. 247, October 20.
- Peat fields near La Paz, Bolivia. No. 253, October 27.
- Recent shipments of wood from Ecuador. No. 306, December 30.
- Reclamation project in northeastern Brazil. No. 303, December 27.
- Relaxation of Brazilian embargo on sugar. No. 237, October 8.
- Remission of duty on cattle and sheep and certain food products in Bolivia. No. 258, November 2.
- Removal of Brazilian embargo on food products and articles of prime necessity. No. 275, November 22.
- Removal of Argentine embargo on flour. No. 294, December 15.
- Removal of import duty on certain iron piping in Mexico. No. 258, November 2.
- Resources and trade of the Amazonian region of Bolivia. No. 246, October 19.
- Results of sugar season in Dominican Republic. No. 236, October 7.
- Rich tungsten ore in Argentina. No. 304, December 28.
- River dredges desired in Ecuador. No. 266, November 11.
- River navigation renewed in Argentina. No. 236, October 7.
- Rubber industry of Bolivia. No. 251, October 25.
- Rubber stamps and enameled signs in Argentina. No. 292, December 13.
- Samples of flax-straw fiber and waste from Argentina available. No. 261, November 5.
- School of wireless telegraphy established in Venezuela. No. 252, October 26.
- September rubber exports from Brazil. No. 276, November 23.

- Serious coal shortage in Mexico. No. 257, November 1.
- Sisal cultivation in Jamaica. No. 239, October 11.
- Situation in Habana remains unchanged. No. 291, December 11.
- Six months' exports from Paraguay to United States. No. 261, November 5.
- Specifications for Mexican wireless stations available. No. 262, November 6.
- Specifications for water cocks and pipe fittings in Venezuela. No. 254, October 28.
- Sugar industry in Brazil. No. 237, October 8.
- Sulphur ores available in Mexico. No. 272, November 18.
- Summary of recent news from Vera Cruz. No. 278, November 26.
- Terms of Cuban moratorium. No. 245, October 18.
- Timber contract let by Honduras government. No. 252, October 26.
- Tobacco crop in the Dominican Republic. No. 258, November 2.
- Trade lists in Europe and South America. No. 263, November 8.
- Trade notes from Argentina. No. 241, October 13; no. 259, November 3; and No. 293, December 14.
- Trade notes from Central America. No. 304, December 28.
- Trade notes from Colombia. No. 257, November 1.
- Trade notes from Mexico. No. 251, October 25, nos. 260, 262, 264, and 276, November 4, 6, 9, and 23; and no. 288, December 8.
- Trade notes from Peru. No. 270, November 16.
- Trade notes from Venezuela. No. 238, October 9.
- Trade of United States with Ecuador during first quarter of 1920. No. 287, December 7.
- Trade publications wanted for Cuban agricultural schools. No. 256, October 30.
- Typewriter market in Brazil. No. 281, November 30.
- Uruguayan company to purchase Mihanovich fleet. No. 282, December 1.
- Uruguayan trade for first eight months of 1920. No. 307, December 31.
- Uruguay's foreign trade for first seven months of 1920. No. 271, November 17.
- Vanilla production in Mexico. No. 274, November 20.
- Wool shipments from Argentina. No. 236, October 7.
- Yucatan offers subvention for new henequen industry. No. 293, December 14.
- Annual publications have appeared as follows:

Brazil. No. 43b. November 14, 1920: Bahia. By Consul Thomas Beván, pp. 1-10. Pernambuco. By Vice Consul Edward Power, pp. 10-16.

Costa Rica. No. 27b. November 29, 1920. By Consul Benjamin F. Chase, San José. Pp. 7.

Dominican Republic. No. 29b. December 9, 1920: Dominican Republic. By Vice Consul George A. Makinson, pp. 1-5. Puerto Plata. By Consul W. A. Bickers, pp. 6-10. The Sanchez Agency. By Consular Agent J. E. Lerousa, p. 10.

Panama. No. 38a. November 22, 1920. By Consul Julius D. Dreher. Pp. 4.

Among pamphlets issued by the Bureau are the following:

Garry, L. S.: Textile markets of Brazil. Special Agents Series, no. 203. Pp. 47. Price 10 cents.

Schurz, William Lytle: Paraguay. A commercial handbook. Special Agents Series, no. 199. Pp. 195. Price 40 cents.

NOTES ON MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

México Moderno is one of the leading literary magazines of Mexico. It is published in Mexico, D. F., by the "Compañía Editorial" directed by Professor Agustín Loera y Chávez, and the president of the Board of Directors is Dr. Enrique González Martínez, one of the foremost poets of modern Spanish. The "Editorial México Moderno" also publishes "Cultura", a library of world authors; "La Novela Quincenal" and "Revista de Libros", under the surveillance of Manuel Tous-saint; and "Revista Musical" in the last named of which Manuel M. Ponce displays his qualities as musical critic and composer. To "México Moderno" contribute María Enriqueta, the authoress of the exquisite poems *Rumores de mi Huerto*; the Colombians Leopoldo de la Rosa and Ricardo Arenales, the second residing in San Antonio, Texas, where he has in charge in *El Imparcial* a section entitled "Indice de las Ideas"; Ramón López Velarde, whose volume of poems *La Sangre Devota* has deserved recently a second edition; and Jaime Torres Bodet, who is showing a very strong personality in his review of reviews for the magazine. Other contributors are Genaro Estrada, author of *Poetas Modernos de México*, who concerns himself chiefly with the bibliographical section; José Vasconcelos, the Rector of the University, whose recent address of welcome to Manuel Márquez Sterling,

from Cuba, as Doctor "honoris causa" of the University, is a masterpiece of diction and thought; José Juan Tablada, who has established the best Romance bookstore in New York City; Ezequiel A. Chávez, former Assistant Secretary of Public Education and Fine Arts, and Director of the National Preparatory School; Carlos Pereyra, diplomat and man of letters, whose critical works (on the Monroe Doctrine, *Bolívar y Washington*, *Historia del Pueblo Mexicano*, *Hernán Cortés y la Epopeya del Anahuac*", and *Humboldt en América*) have been widely commented on; Alejandro Quijano, Dean of the Faculty of Law, author of *En Casa de Nuestros Primos*, and translator of Eca de Queiros's *Analectas*, who gives his views on a letter of the Conqueror of Colombia, Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada; and Federico Mariscal, architect, who explains "The Beauty of our Walls." Through Luis González Obregón, the most attractive and erudite chronicler of old Mexico, and ex-Director of the National Archives, we know the history of an *Encomienda* of the sixteenth century. Antonio Caso, Director of the High School, and a philosopher of no mean caliber, argues on "The hierarchies of Thought as the Foundation of Belief". Alfonso Reyes, Secretary of the Mexican Legation in Madrid, who quite recently published *El Plano Oblicuo*, is also a contributor. The Director of the National Museum, Luis Castillo Ledón (his historical monography *El Chocolate* ought to be mentioned) presents some pages of his biography of Padre Hidalgo; and El Marqués de San Francisco, Librarian of the National Archives, proves with his prose of "El Papagayo de Huichilobos" that he is the witty writer of "Los Jardines de Nueva España".

Don Victoriano Salado Alvarez, now residing at San Francisco, Cal., is, no doubt, the most reliable authority on the Mexican War and the Intervention and the Empire. In his article "Un Filósofo Historiador", in *La Prensa*, San Antonio, Tex., speaking on "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico" by Lic. Toribio Esquivel Obregón, which was published in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, he says that this is a substantial monography, and he examines many of its viewpoints in its excellent discussion of the fundamental national problems of his country. Lic. Esquivel Obregón with Manuel Calero, Francisco Carvajal, Juan B. Castelazo, Jesús Flores Magón, Tomás McManus, Miguel Ruelas, and Jorge Vera Estañol, all of them well-known men of Mexican past administrations, have published in New York *Ensayo sobre la Reconstruccion de México*, in which they treat of

matters ranging from the public suffrage to the agrarian problem. One of the contributors to this important essay, Lic. Vera Estañol, former Secretary of the Interior and of Public Education, has reprinted his articles on *Carranza and his Bolshevik Régime*, advocating the rehabilitation of the Constitution of 1857. "Is a new political party to be formed and is Work its program, its platform?" asks Salado Álvarez.

Below follow mention of the successful books published by Mexicans last year: *El Verdadero Díaz y la Revolución*, by Dr. Francisco Bulnes, the author also of *El Verdadero Juárez*—a sensation in the political world, as no author before Bulnes has displayed so boldly the different aspects of the great revolutionist; *Lí-Po y Otros Poemas*, by José Juan Tablada, Imprenta Bolívar, Caracas, a collection of very original poems written according to the "Ultraism" rules; *Una Victoria Financiera. Capítulos para la Historia*, by Carlos Díaz Dufoo (published by Librería Bouret), the distinguished journalist of *El Imparcial* and *Excelsior*, who ably and frankly reviews the financial situation in Mexico since the Independence and especially during the new era started by Limantour, the famous Minister of the Treasury; *Divagaciones Literarias*, by José Vasconcelos, *Lectura Selecta*, a representative of the present philosophical movement in Spanish America and whose *Pitágoras*, with preface by Henríquez Ureña, placed him among the educators of youth; *La Vida Intacta*, by Eduardo Colín, Secretary of the Mexican Legation in Venezuela, in which he explains the mental influence and personalities of thinkers and authors like the Belgian Verhaeren, the Portuguese De Queiros, the Colombian Guillermo Valencia (of *Ritos*), and the Mexican Luis G. Urbina (of *Ingenuas*, *Puestas de Sol*, and *Antología del Centenario*); *Rosario la de Acuña*, by José López Portillo y Rojas, Librería Española,—a leaf of the literary history of Mexico not only as a biography of the unhappy Manuel Acuña and of the picturesque creature of one of his poems, but as first hand information of men like Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, Ignacio Ramírez, and Juan de Dios Peza; "El Rebozo", a remarkable historical article by José de J. Núñez y Domínguez, editor of the weekly *Revista de Revistas*, Secretary of the Society of Geography and Statistics, and who is worthy of mention for his opusculos *Holocaustos*, *La Hora del Ticiano*, and *Los Poetas Jóvenes de México*; *Retratos Reales e Imaginarios*, *Lectura Selecta*, a selection of the articles on many literary topics of today, by Alfonso Reyes, the young master; and *La Vida en México*, by Marquesa Calderón de la Barca, edited by Bouret, but unpublished as it was only

known fragmentarily, until Enrique Martínez Sobral translated it. Other books are: *Sátiros y Amores*, by Ricardo Gómez Robelo, Los Angeles, Cal. (illustrations by Roubaix de L'Abrie-Richey); *Bajo el Haya de Títiro*, by Juan B. Delgado; *El Pan Nuestro de Cada Día*, by José Gómez Ugarte (El Abate Benigno); *Caro Victrix*, sonnets by Efrén Rebolledo; *Jardines de Provincia*, by José Zavala; *Las Alamedas del Silencio*, by Gilberto Ruvalcaba, published by El Ateneo Reissig, México; and *Se Apoderará Estados Unidos de América de Baja California?* (*La invasión filibustera de 1911*), by R. Velasco Ceballos.

In the memorial of Pedro Requena Legarreta held in Mexico City, under the suggestion of the University, Carlos Pellicer Cámara, made touching remarks about the young poet who died recently in New York, and whose translations of Tagore and other English and French poets deserve high praise among scholars. We have also to mention with regret the deaths of Jesús Urueta, the wellknown polished orator and champion of Greek culture; and of Genaro García, the historian, who accomplished a great task as investigator of early Mexican history and who was Director of the National Museum of Ethnology and History of Mexico. García owned the richest collection on Mexico, and his own written works reach many volumes, among the latter being the priceless *Documentos para la Historia de México*, Leona Vicario, heroína insurgente; *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España*, por Bernal Díaz del Castillo; and *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*.

Mexican past history is tempting Enrique Gómez Carrillo, the delightful chronicler, and he is busily collecting all material useful for writing the history of the pre-Cortesian epoch of Mexico. He believes that colonial Mexico is monotonous and gray, and that Chocano's poems about that epoch are not in full accord with reality.

Following are some of the latest books published in the United States and dealing with Mexico: *The Near Side of the Mexican Question*, by Jay S. Stowell, New York, George H. Doran Co.; *Mexico and the Caribbean*, a series of addresses during the conference upon those countries at Clark University, May, 1920, and edited now by George H. Blakeslee, New York, G. E. Steckert & Co.; *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico*, by Ellsworth L. Kolb, New York, Macmillan, on the author's trip, 1911, for securing photographs and moving pictures of the Colorado River; and *The People of Mexico*, by Wallace Thompson,

edited by Harper & Brothers. Mr. Thompson gives first-hand information, as he has been in Mexico more than fifteen years closely connected with the American Consular Service and as a newspaper man. Badger has published *The Land Beyond Mexico*, by Rhys Carpenter.

Lectura Selecta, Mexico, has printed a new edition of *El Hombre que Parecía un Caballo y el Trovador Colombiano* by the Central American poet Rafael Arévalo Martínez, with a foreword by Alfonso Reyes, who highly commends this attractive novel, the first effort in Central America to write a psychological novel; as well as *El Alma de la Escuela*, by Luis Zulueta, Biblioteca Renovación, Costa Rica, against the Catholic teaching of that country; *Fuentes Iluminadas*, by R. Álvarez Berrocal, San José; *Valores Literarios de Costa Rica*, by Rogelio Sotela, editor of the magazine *Athenea*; and *Filosofía de la Crítica and Voces Lejanas*, by M. Vicenzi.

"La deuda Ethelburga, negocio de los banqueros" by Juan Ramón Áviles, *La Noticia*, Managua, December 5 and 7, 1920; and "Los Enemigos del Córdova" (the Nicaraguan money), by Frutos Ruiz, *El Comercio*, Managua, November 17th are very interesting contributions to the study of the Central American financial situation. One should also read the article "Foreign Debts Factor in Move to Effect Central American Union", by Mr. Edward Perry, published in the *Newark Evening News*, January 10, 1921.

Salado Alvarez proves in a substantial article, "El Prohibicionismo en México", *La Prensa*, San Antonio, Texas, December 25, 1920, that the Prohibition campaign in that country is a serious problem for statesmen, for during the eighteenth century the Mexicans indulged in more than thirty alcoholic beverages. One of the prohibitionist pioneers was the viceroy Marques de Mancera, in 1671.

Emilio Rabasa, in *La Evolución Histórica de México*, a historical essay, shows that he is still the same distinguished scholar who wrote years ago *La Constitución y la Dictadura*. In his latest book Sr. Rabasa makes a deep study of the Indian problem in Mexico, although it is said he does not treat the subject from the ethnological point of view. The life and work of Father Antonio Remesal (author of the famous *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala*) was the topic of Don Francisco Fernández del Castillo before the Mex-

ican Academy of History. He explained how Father Remesal was prosecuted on account of his book, a fact which had remained unknown hitherto.

To honor the poet's influence on the mental activities of the new generation, Professor Joaquín García Monge, has published "*Rubén Darío en Costa Rica*" in two volumes. Sr. García Monge is the public librarian and editor of "*El Convivio*", popular library, "*Ediciones Sarmiento*" and *Repertorio Americano*, a fortnightly magazine devoted to continental interests. At the same time, Regino E. Boti, of Cuba, has collected in *Hipsipilas* the less known poems of Darío. García Monge is the author of *Mala Sombra y Otros Sucesos* and his superb literary taste is always shown in his publications. Under his auspices there are published the following books: *La Miniatura*, sketches of the colonial period and short-stories, by Ricardo Fernández Guardia; *Las Coccinelas del Rosal*, by Octavio Jiménez; *Los Cuentos de mi Tía Panchita*, folklore pages by Carmen Lira; *En el Taller del Platero*, *De Variado Sentir*, and *De Atenas y la Filosofía*, by Rómulo Tovar; *Poemas*, by José Olivares, of Nicaragua; *El Hombre que Parecía un Caballo*, by Rafael Arévalo Martínez, of Guatemala; and *El Rosal del Ermitaño*, by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, of Honduras. Luis Dobles Segreda, with his *Rosa Mística* (Heredia); Napoleón Pacheco with *Las Guarias del Crepúsculo* (Falco y Borrarse, publishers); and Luis Andrés Zúñiga of Tegucigalpa, with *El Banquete*, prose and verse, are also contributions to literary bibliography. Zúñiga is a poet laureate, has an excellent record as a journalist, and wrote *Los Conspiradores*, a sort of historical drama based upon that passage of General Francisco Morazán, the Central American hero, when his enemies tendered to him the dictatorship which he indignantly refused. In accordance with this patriotic tendency among students of history of the Isthmus to exalt the virtues of the pioneers of their nation, Dr. Sixto Barrios delivered in the University of Salvador, a lecture on the life of Dr. Isidro Menéndez, as legislator and orator; and there is a magazine, *Próceres*, edited by Dr. Rafael V. Castro, with contributions of Víctor Jerez, Alberto Luna, Rómulo Durón, Manuel Valladares, M. Castro Ramírez and Francisco Gavidia. In the last issue, no. 5, volume IV, appear articles on the Captain General of Guatemala, José de Bustamante y Guerra (1814), and the first President of Central America, General Arce, beside an eulogy of José Matías Delgado, by Dr. Víctor Jerez, Rector of the University. Central America is on the eve of the first centenary of its political independence.

In his anthology of Hispanic American prose writers, recently printed in Buenos Aires, Leonardo Bazzano presents pages from Gavidia, Mayorga Rivas, Arturo Ambrogi, and Alberto Masferrer, the last named an excellent teacher and writer, who has in press *Ideas y Formas*. At the same time, Virgilio Rodríguez Beteta, former editor of *Diario de Centro-América*, in Guatemala, has lectured in the Atheneum of Madrid, on the literature of his country; and "El Arte Tipográfico", New York City, is publishing the most interesting chapters of *La Imprenta en Centro-América* (preface to his history of journalism in the old kingdom of Guatemala). His old friend, Víctor Miguel Díaz, with his "Crónicas Viejas" in the *Diario*, gives reliable information relative to Antigua Guatemala, as does Eduardo Martínez López, librarian of Honduras, with "Colonial Time" in *Los Sucesos*, a weekly of Tegucigalpa; and Ricardo Fernández Guardia with the origin of a poem written in Costa Rica by one of the Conquerors, a paper read in December last in a festival to honor José Santos Chocano as guest of that country.

Managua has *Nicaragua Informativa* and *Los Domingos* two weekly periodicals edited, respectively, by Hernán Robleto and Salvador Ruiz Morales. In the issue of the last one, November 28, 1920, appears the magnificent "Salutación a Chocano" by Azarías H. Pallais, Doctor of Belles-Lettres and Theology and the author of the poems *A la Sombra del Agua* and *Espumas y Estrellas*. *La Revista de Costa Rica*, edited by Dr. J. F. Trejos Quiñós, has the support of the best scholars of the country, among them Anastasio Alfaro, the biologist, and Cleto González Víquez, former President of the republic and one of the most able investigators of the past. In this review have recently appeared the following interesting articles: "A visit to the volcano of Irazú", by R. Fernández Peralta; "Final Geological and Geographical Report about Costa Rica", by Donald F. MacDonald and other geologists; "Cartago and Cariay", by Carlos Gagini; "Climatology and Forestry", by Elías Leiva; "The South-western Coasts of Costa Rica", by M. Obregón L.; and "San José and its Beginnings", by Cleto González Víquez.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Twenty-three Clark University Addresses, edited by Professor George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, have been published by G. E. Stechert & Co., under the title *Mexico and the Caribbean*. These addresses were all given at Clark University during the Conference

upon Mexico and the Caribbean, May 20-22, 1920. This volume, which will be reviewed later in the columns of this periodical, is full of interest and value. Among contributors are Toribio Esquivel Obregón, Frederick Starr, James Carson, Ellsworth Huntington and others. The addresses deal with matters on which people desire information.

Dr. Webster E. Browning, a paper by whom is published in this number, has published through the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, a small pamphlet on *The Republic of Ecuador. Social, Intellectual and Religious Conditions Today*. Interesting data concerning this country will be found in this work.

The distinguished Argentine scholar Alberto Ghirardo has undertaken the preparation and publication (March, 1920) of an *Antología americana* which is intended to present a comprehensive picture of the intellectual and artistic life of the Hispanic American countries. The work will be divided into twenty volumes under the following titles: 1 and 2, *Precursores*; 3, *Lira Clásica*; 4, *Lira Romántica*; 5, *Historiadores y Filósofos*; 6, *Los Ensayistas*; 7, *La Musa del Pueblo*; 8, *Tradicionalistas y Costumbristas*; 9, *Los Tribunales*; 10, *Leyendas y Anécdotas*; 12, *El Verbo nuevo*; 11, *Poesía Féstiva*; 13, *Crítica contemporánea*; 14, *El Libro de los Cuentos*; 15, *El Libro de las Ciencias*; 16, *El Libro de los Niños*; 17, *Biografía Americana*; 18, *Teatro*; 19, *Hoy* (prosa); and 20, *Hoy* (verso).—C. K. JONES.

The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273-1836, by Julius Klein, has recently appeared from the Harvard University Press at Cambridge. The volume is published under the direction of the Department of Economics. The subject is treated by Dr. Klein in seventeen chapters and forms an important work in the economic history of Spain. A copious and useful bibliography is a welcome part of the volume. This work will be reviewed in a later issue of the Review. Dr. Klein has lately severed his connection with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and is now Assistant Professor of Latin American History and Economics in Harvard University. His volume fulfills part of the requirements necessary for his doctor's degree at Harvard.

Dr. Fernando Ortiz, Professor in the University of Habana, in his *Los Negros Esclavos; Estudio sociológico y de Derecho Público*, has written

a chapter in the history of Cuba that must be consulted by the historian who wishes to write the history of this important island. The volume shows a great deal of original research, and is well documented. Dr. Ortiz expects to reissue the work in several parts as monographs.

Foreign Tariff Notes, No. 36, recently issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, contains notes on the tariff of several Hispanic American countries.

The Americas for December, 1920, publishes the following: "Canada gaining in Caribbean trade"; "Cuban situation should greatly improve within six months"; and "Plan new railroad across the Andes mountains".

The Catholic Historical Review publishes in its number for October, 1920, an excellent communication relative to "Father Kino's name"; and "The martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa María", by Lloyd Mecham.

Cultura Venezolana (Caracas), for August 1920, contains *Los Aborígenes del estado Falcón*, by Pedro M. Arcaya; "El Vértice victorioso", by Gabriel Espinosa; "Las Ensenadas de la historia", by Eloy G. González; "Aldea de Aquelarre", by Ramón Hurtado; "Campañas y cruceros", by W. G. Mahoney; "Miranda como filósofo y erudito", by Manuel Segundo Sánchez; and "Como podría obtenerse la unión espiritual y material de la América Hispana y la Anglo Sajona", by Guillermo A. Sherwell.

"Del Potomac al Guaire" is the title of an article in the November *Hispania*, and its author is Guillermo A. Sherwell, a Mexican scholar resident in Washington, D. C. The issue of this paper for December publishes: "El Alma de Toledo", by M. Romera-Navarro; "Impresiones de España", by Carolina Marcial Dorada; "Six weeks in Madrid", by Medora Loomis Ray; "Spanish American poets of today and yesterday: II. José Santos Chocano, el poeta de América", by George W. Umphrey.

In *Inter-America* for October, 1920 are found: "Antecedents of Argentine history", transl. from *La Unión* (Buenos Aires), May 24, 1920; "The Bolivian doctrine", by J. L. Andara, transl. from *Cultura*

Venezolana (Caracas), June, 1918; "General Leonard Wood and public instruction in Cuba", by Aurelio Hevia, transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, July, 1920; "A Great Bolivian writer", by Juan José de Soiza Reilly, transl. from *Nuestra América* (Buenos Aires), March, 1920; "A knightly pirate", by Ricardo Fernández Guardia, transl. from *Revista de Costa Rica* (San José, Costa Rica), March, 1920; "A wedding in the Quechuan great world", by Alfredo Palacio Mendoza, transl. from *El Hogar* (Buenos Aires), June, 1920. In the number for December are the following; "American policy", by Armando Solano, transl. from *El Espectador* (Bogotá), August 13, 1920; "An Argentine artist", by R. Ramis Togores, transl. from *Nosotros*, July, 1920; "Baja California", transl. from *Revista de Revistas* (Méjico), August 8, 1920; "Independence Day and the Central American union", by Ramón Rosa, transl. from *Revista de la Universidad* (Tegucigalpa), April 15, 1920, and reprinted from *La Paz*, no. 278, 1882; "José Asunción Silva", by Rafael A. Estenger, transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, May, 1920; "Rafael Obligado", by Calixto Uyuela, transl. from *Nosotros*, April, 1920; "Rubén Darío in Heredia", by Luis Dobles Segreda, transl. from *Athenea* (Costa Rica), July, 1920; "In search of a new volcano", by Ricardo Fernández Peralta, transl. from *Revista de Costa Rica* (San José, Costa Rica), July, 1920; "Theoretical and practical politics", by Leopoldo Lugones, transl. from *Centro-América* (Guatemala) April-June, 1920.

In recent numbers of *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), occur the following articles: July 1920—"El Cuzco: Meca del turismo de la América del Sur", by Alberto A. Giesecke; "Europa después de la gran guerra", by Juan Bautista de Lavalle; "La Revolución de Bolívar". August—"Clasificaciones estéticas", by A. O. Deustua; "Augusto Madueño" (eulogy); "El Romanticismo contemporánea". September—"El Americanismo en los nuevos poetas anglo e hispano-americanos", by George W. Umphrey; "El Artista y el hombre", by José Leonidas Madueño;" "El Aylo", by Carlos Valdez de la Torre. October—"D. Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza", by Jorge Guillermo Leguía; "Don Ricardo V. García (eulogy); "Grados estéticos", by A. O. Deustua; "La Labor arqueológica de Sylvanus Griswold Morley", by Philip Ainsworth Means; "El Perú y España", by Manuel G. Abastos; "La Poesía contemporánea en los Estados Unidos", by George W. Umphrey; "Un Vaso esculpido de San Agustín Acasaguastlan, Guatemala", by Philip Ainsworth Means. November—"El Alma ameri-

cana", by Webster E. Browning; "Dr. Don Luis Felipe Villarán" (editorial); "Régimen de la propiedad durante los incas", by Carlos Valdez de la Torre; "Un Sacerdote de la cultura", by Edwin Elmore; "La Universidad de Yale. Los métodos de enseñanza y la vida del estudiante en una gran universidad de norteamericana", by César Antonio Ugarte. In each number is also a part of the "Crónicas de Norteamérica," by the Peruvian scholar, Sr. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, who is now in the United States.

The issue of *La Nueva Democracia* (New York) for November, 1920, contains: "La Guerra y la América", by E. Rodríguez Mendoza; "Herencia material del continente americano" (III.), by Webster E. Browning; and "El Pro y el contra de los Estados Unidos", by R. de Zayas Enríquez.

The Pan-American Magazine, for January, 1921, contains: "Argentina's butter trade"; "The coming sugar crop"; "Hydro-electric developments and prospects in South America"; "Mexican vanilla"; "Nicaragua's coffee"; "Peru protects the vicuña"; "Santo Domingo, old and new", by Samuel Guy Inman; "The South of South America", by W. W. Rasor; "United States foreign trade and its correlative factors"; "The Y. M. C. A. in Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, Uruguay".

The following items are published in various recent numbers of *The Pan American Review*; September, 1920—"The Christ of the Andes"; "Concerning Latin American center in New York" (editorial); "Intellectual intercourse with Hispanic America" (editorial); "Luncheon to President of Panama"; "Mexican possibilities", by R. De F. Boomer; "A Pan American college of commerce" (editorial); "Report of the Conference Committee for Chile". October—"Argentina", by Leonard Mathers; "Guatemala's citizen president", by Thomas R. Dawley; "Michael P. Grace"; "The new director general of the Pan American Union" (editorial); "New Latin American courses" (editorial); "Report of the Conference Committee for Colombia". November—"Biological expedition to explore the Amazon valley" (editorial); "How Latin America views Harding's election" (editorial); "Pan American propaganda" (editorial); "Report of the Conference Committee for Cuba"; "Striving for women's rights in South America" by Carlos Puyo D.; "Twelve years of progress"; "Women's activities in Latin American educational circles". The last section of each num-

ber of this Review is devoted to "Telegraphic Briefs", which are short, snappy items of interest from all parts of Hispanic America.

In *The River Plate American* (Buenos Aires) for January 9, 1921, appear the following: "The League of Nations"; "North American money"; "Our Latin American trade"; and "The Pioneer" [in Argentina], by Harry A. Kirwin.

The following titles are to items published in various numbers of the new Chilean review *Revista América*; October 5, 1920—"Construcción de caminos en Panamá"; "Un Ferrocarril que unirá a Nicaragua y Honduras"; "Forman compañía para el subterráneo en la Habana"; "La Maestranza de San Bernardo"; "Penetración ferroviaria de la América del Sur"; "Se proyecta fundar en Panamá un instituto en homenaje a W. G. Gorgas"; "Una Tierra romántica" (California), by Charles E. Chapman. October 19, 1920—"La Asociación Cristiana de Jovenes en Sud-América", by Ralph C. Scott; "Costa Rica da libre entrada a los ganados"; "Ecuador como productor de petróleo"; "Méjico avalúa el petróleo y cobra el impuesto fijo"; "Nuevo partido político en Costa Rica"; "\$75,000,000 pide Méjico para su rehabilitación"; "Se dará maquinaria a los pequeños agricultores"; "Servicio postal aereo entre Estados Unidos y Cuba"; "La Poesía contemporánea en los Estados Unidos", by George Wallace Umphrey. November 7, 1920—"A. Mitchell Palmer", by Carlos Castro Ruiz; "Condición general de los negocios en Estados Unidos"; "El Despertar de Hispano-América"; "Expropiarian tierras para un acueducto" [Venezuela]; "La Habana es el primer puerto de Hispano-América"; "Méjico será el futuro centro mundial de petróleo"; "Los Estados Unidos no intervendrán jamás en Méjico"; "Gran proyecto sobre marina para Méjico"; "Por que los anunciantes dicen la verdad", by Carl Hunt; "Se forma en la zona del Canal una liga cívica. Los norteamericanos allá residentes quieren que se les otorgue el voto"; "Warren G. Harding: Presidente electo de los Estados Unidos. Declaraciones con respecto a Sud América".

Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas for August, 1920, contains: "Acefalia en la presidencia", by R. Wilmart; "Delitos contra la vida", by Rodolfo Rivarola and E. Gómez; "En el Brasil", by Rodolfo Rivarola; "Hojas de mi diario", by Luis B. Tomini; and Telasco Castellanos", by Angel F. Avalos.

Revista Bimestre Cubana in its number for January-June, 1920 has the following: "La Antonomía de los primitivos municipios cubanos", by Mario Alonso; "Los Estados Unidos y la independencia americana", by Camilo Destruge; and "Los Judíos en Cuba", by Max J. Kohler.

Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras (Buenos Aires) for December, 1920, contains "El Gobierno de Martín Rodríguez", by J. C. Garay; "Homenaje escolar a Belgrano"; "La Jurisdicción sobre los ferrocarriles en el derecho constitucional argentino", by J. N. Matienzo. "Política unitaria", by J. Mendoza Zells; and "El Problem chileno-argentino", by J. Vial Solar; Dr. Estanislao S. Zeballos, the editor, contributes "Analecta", "Bibliografía", and "Oro y cambios".

Revista de Filosofía for September, 1920 contains "Aspectos sociales de la religión búdhica", by C. S. Saenz Peña; "De Drago a Tchitcherin", by A. Orzabal Quintana; "Democracia política y democracia económica" by A. Bunge; "La Personalidad de Alberdi", by A. S. Mújica; "La Reforma universitaria en Córdoba" by A. Orgaz and A. Capdevila; and other articles of more technical character.

The South American for January, 1921, appears under a new format, which greatly improves its appearance. In this number the following articles and items are worthy of mention: "Advertising in Latin America", by James C. Carson; "The agricultural college at Santiago" [Chile]; "Argentina quits league assembly" (editorial); "Bad financial situation in Nicaragua"; "Colombia faces her troubles"; "Conspiracy thwarted in Peru"; "The Country of Bolívar and Miranda", by Guillermo A. Sherwell; "Direct steamers to Guayaquil"; "German goods reappear in Chile"; "Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco"; "Made in Argentina" by Sir Woodman Burbridge; "Mexican outlook most promising"; "Mexico's amazing oil potentialities"; "The mission of Secretary Colby (editorial); "Obstacles to American trade with the South American republics", by John F. O'Hara, C. S. C.; "Plant life in Jujuy"; "Sketches of northern Argentina"; and "The Y. W. C. A. in Argentina".

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, January, 1921, continues the "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832",

by Eugene C. Barker, and "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar", by A. K. Christian. William Ray Lewis presents in addition "The Hayes administration and Mexico".

"José de la Luz y Caballero", and "La Visita Española a Chile", are the titles of two articles appearing in *La Unión Hispano-Americana* (Madrid), for December, 1920.

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